

THE MOSAICS OF ST. SOPHIA
AT ISTANBUL

THE CHURCH FATHERS
IN THE NORTH TYMPANUM

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INTRODUCTION

OF the mosaics described in this report the most important part—namely the figures of Saints Ignatius the Younger, John Chrysostom, and Ignatius Theophoros—was uncovered under the direction of the late Thomas Whittemore between 1939 and 1948. Whittemore intended to devote a detailed study to these three figures, but was prevented from doing so by his death, which occurred in 1950. When, some ten years later, the publication of the three Church Fathers was entrusted to us, we naturally felt obliged to re-examine the mosaics at close quarters, and this we did in 1962 with the aid of a movable wooden platform that rested on the projecting cornice at the foot of the figures and was secured by means of cables attached to a beam outside the lower windows of the tympanum. We also used this opportunity to uncover the remains of the figure of St. Athanasius and part of a monogram in a circular medallion, as well as some areas of ornament and gold background. In the course of this work it became evident to us that the figures of the Church Fathers could not be fully discussed without reference to the overall mosaic decoration of both tympana, part of which still remains concealed under a layer of plaster. Under ideal conditions we would have proceeded to uncover everything that remains of this mosaic decoration,¹ but until now this has not proved possible.

In 1964 we conducted work in the apse and bema arch of St. Sophia.² The observations we made there proved of great value toward establishing certain criteria whereby mosaics of the sixth century can be distinguished from those of the ninth. Armed with this new knowledge, we returned in 1967 to the study of the tympana and carried out further investigations *in situ*. Not wishing to delay any further the publication of these important mosaics, some of which have been open to view for the last thirty years,³ we offer here the information collected by us in 1962 and 1967. We hope that one day it will be possible for

¹ The areas of mosaic that remain to be uncovered correspond more or less to the patches of dark plaster visible on the right side of fig. 1 and on the left side of fig. 2, above the mosaic medallion. In the north tympanum the mosaic border along its circumference seems to be preserved to a considerable height, roughly level with the lateral wings of the seraph in the northeast pendentive. The same applies to the design in the soffit of the great northern arch. The dark patch to the right of the easternmost window of the top row is of particular interest, since it may conceal the lower part of an angel's figure. In the south tympanum the area of mosaic that has not yet been uncovered comes up to the knee of the prophet Isaiah, while the border of the tympanum as well as the soffit decoration of the arch continue to a height a little above the lower end of the seraph in the southeast pendentive.

² C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul . . .," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 19 (1965), 113ff.

³ Photographs of the three complete Church Fathers have by now appeared in numerous publications which it would be idle to list here. For the principal bibliography, see V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 177 note 72. Various opinions have also been expressed concerning the date of these mosaics, ranging from the late ninth century to the thirteenth (!): the latter by G. Galassi, *Roma o Bisanzio*, II (Rome, 1953), 319f. Whittemore himself was inclined to date them in the first half of the tenth century; so also A. Grabar, *Byzantine Painting* (Geneva, 1953), 94.

ourselves or others to bring to light every scrap of mosaic remaining in both tympana, and when this has been done certain slight adjustments may have to be made in our conclusions. We trust nevertheless that the views presented here are substantially correct.

It is our pleasant duty, as it has been many times in the past, to express our gratitude to the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the Republic of Turkey and to Bay Feridun Dirimtekin, former Director of the Ayasofya Museum, for authorizing us to carry out our investigations and granting us every facility for doing so.⁴

THE DECORATION OF THE TYMPANA AS A WHOLE

When viewed from the inside (figs. 1, 2) the tympana give the appearance of flat curtain-walls divided into three zones: the lowest zone comprises seven recessed niches, the middle zone has seven windows of equal height, the topmost zone has five windows of which the central one is the tallest and widest while the two end ones are the smallest. In reality, the plastered surface of each tympanum conceals a massive arch spanning the distance between the main piers (fold-out figs. A, B), but this need not concern us here. The fenestration of the tympana underwent considerable change during the Turkish period, probably in connection with the repair of the building by the architect Sinan in 1573. In the center of the topmost zone there was, in Byzantine times, a large trilobed window divided by marble mullions. All of the other windows of the tympana were also larger than they are today (figs. 3, A, B).⁵ It follows from this that the amount of daylight admitted by the tympana was greater in the Byzantine period than it is today and that the wall-space available for mosaic decoration was correspondingly smaller.

One more factor that ought to be borne in mind is that the tympana were rebuilt in Byzantine times. This was first conjectured by P. A. Underwood and E. J. W. Hawkins,⁶ who suggested that the rebuilding, which also entailed the resetting of the gallery colonnades, was carried out after the first collapse of

⁴ Figs. A and B are based on the architectural survey of St. Sophia by Mr. R. L. Van Nice and have been drawn by his assistants. We should also like to extend our thanks to Mrs. Fanny Bonajuto for research assistance; to Dr. H. N. Logvin of Kiev for providing us with a photograph of the fresco of St. Ignatius in St. Sophia, Kiev; and to Dr. Priscilla Soucek of the University of Michigan for advice on Near Eastern ornamental motifs.

⁵ The cut-stone reinforcement of the windows is today visible only on the exterior, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was fully exposed to view on the inside as well. In addition to our fig. 3, see the drawings of Grelot (1672) and Loos (1710) reproduced in C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, VIII (Washington, D.C., 1962), figs. 2, 3, 56. The fenestration of the tympana poses further problems which cannot at present be resolved. Paul the Silentiary, in describing the church in 563, i.e., after its first rebuilding, states that each tympanum was illuminated by eight windows (ἔλαμπε δὲ τετράκι δοιαῖς | πλησιφαῖς θυρίδουσιν): ed. P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1912), 242, vv. 536–37. Even if he counted the triple window as one, we are still left with two windows too many. It appears, therefore, that two windows, probably the end ones of the uppermost zone, represent a later Byzantine alteration.

⁶ "The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul. The Portrait of the Emperor Alexander . . .," *DOP*, 15 (1961), 210ff.

the dome in 558. A series of tests made by Messrs. R. J. Mainstone and R. L. Van Nice in 1966–68 proved that the tympana were indeed reconstructed; that the line of juncture between the Justinianic brickwork and the rebuilding follows, more or less, the inner vertical sides of the four main piers, except above the southwest and southeast piers, where the juncture is above the crown of the westernmost and easternmost arch of the gallery colonnade respectively; and that in their original, Justinianic state the tympana did not have any shallow niches. In publishing these results, Mr. Mainstone made the counter-suggestion that the rebuilding occurred after the earthquake of 869.⁷ A discussion of the relative merits of the Underwood-Hawkins and Mainstone theses would have to take into account a number of factors that have not been fully considered, e.g., the entire series of rinceau mosaics in the soffits of the gallery colonnades and the *opus sectile* decoration in the spandrels of the same colonnades, both of which certainly postdate the rebuilding. The extent to which the great north and south arches were reconstructed after the collapse of 558 (see *infra*, p. 37) would also have a bearing on this matter. The material evidence for such a discussion is as yet lacking. Fortunately, however, the solution of this interesting problem does not affect our present purpose: the mosaics we attribute to the sixth century are well within the limits of the unreconstructed parts of the tympana, while those of the Church Fathers, as we shall see, cannot be earlier than 878.

The mosaic decoration of the tympana consisted of a rich ornamental frame and a considerable number of figures—either seventeen or nineteen in each tympanum. In speaking of the ornamental frame, we have to consider not only the flat surface of the tympana, but also the reveals of the great north and south arches as well as the forward faces of these same arches. The dominant motif consisted in a band of alternating diamonds and rosettes (as we shall call them for the sake of simplicity): this was deployed along the base and the semi-circular circumference of the tympana and was repeated on the forward edge of the great arches in such a way that part of its width curved onto the reveal. There was a strange disparity between the two tympana in that the south one had a double band of ornament along its semicircular circumference, for within the band of diamonds and rosettes there was a second one of a stepped or crenellated design which is not present in the north tympanum (figs. A, B). The reveals of the arches were decorated with a band of three alternating devices: a diamond contained in a square, a stylized tree, and a palmette.

There were further ornamental elements in the decorative scheme of the tympana, but these were on a smaller scale. The surrounds of the niches were framed with a band of diaper pattern, and a horizontal band of the same pattern lay tangentially to the tops of the niches, thus providing a clear line of demarcation between the lowest and middle zones. The reveals of the niches were decorated with repeating quatrefoils. We do not know if the windows of the middle and upper zones had ornamental surrounds: if such existed, they must have been rather narrow.

⁷ "The Reconstruction of the Tympana of St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP*, 23–24 (1969–70), 353ff.

The figural decoration of the tympana has been discussed elsewhere by one of us on the basis of the Fossati and Salzenberg drawings.⁸ It will be sufficient to recall here its main elements. The fourteen niches contained figures of fourteen Fathers of the Church in the following order:

South tympanum from east to west: 1. Unknown; 2. St. Anthimus; 3. St. Basil; 4. St. Gregory Theologos (Nazianzen); 5. St. Dionysius; 6. St. Nicholas; 7. St. Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia.

North tympanum from west to east: 8. St. Ignatius the Younger; 9. St. Methodius; 10. St. Gregory Thaumaturgos; 11. St. John Chrysostom; 12. St. Ignatius Theophoros; 13. St. Cyril; 14. St. Athanasius.

Of the fourteen figures, Nos. 8, 11, and 12 are preserved in their entirety and No. 14 in part; the others are lost.

The middle zone was devoted to the Prophets. Gigantic figures of the four major prophets stood one at each end of the zone in the following positions:

South tympanum, east end: Isaiah; west end: Daniel (not recorded, but required to make up the number).

North tympanum, west end: Ezekiel; east end: Jeremiah.

Somewhat smaller figures of the twelve minor prophets were placed between the windows. The exact position of each one of them is not known except for Habakkuk (north tympanum, between fifth and sixth windows counting from the west) and probably Jonah (same tympanum, between sixth and seventh windows). The prophets stood on a horizontal strip of green ground. All that remains of these figures is, as far as we know, the lower part of Isaiah. His right foot has been uncovered (fig. 9), and the mosaic seems to extend roughly up to his knee.

The top zone was, in all probability, devoted to angels. We have evidence for only one figure placed at the east end of the zone in the north tympanum (directly above Jonah), and this seems to have been an archangel. If the arrangement was symmetrical, as it probably was, we may postulate four archangels. It would also be possible to insert four figures, say cherubim, one each between the central trilobed window and the end windows, but we have no authority for doing so.

Finally, the decoration of the tympana comprised several long lines of inscription, which we shall consider later, and four monograms in circular medallions placed in the lowest zone beneath the major Prophets. The first of these has been preserved entire (east end of south tympanum: fig. 8) and the last only in part (east end of north tympanum: figs. 40, 41). The other two have disappeared.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MOSAICS

1. REVEALS OF THE GREAT NORTH AND SOUTH ARCHES

We can give only a partial account of this decoration which on the east side of the south tympanum appears to extend roughly as high as the lower extremity of the seraph in the southeast pendentive, while on the east side of the

⁸ Mango, *Materials*, 48ff.

north tympanum it reaches up with some discontinuity nearly to the crown of the arch. As we have said, this decoration consists of three repeating motifs: a diamond contained in a square, a tree, and a palmette. A specimen of the first has been uncovered by us at the east springing of the north arch, its lower edge at a height of 1.77 m. from the cornice (fig. 4). The square, which measures 0.64 m. in width and 0.62 m. in height, is outlined by two rows of black glass tesserae, and its field consists of yellow-green glass, except for the four corners into which small gold squares have been inserted and delimited by two rows of red glass tesserae. The diamond, whose corners extend a little beyond the sides of the square, comprises the following elements: an outer gold frame; a rectangular field of silver having four green trefoils placed at the corners; a circular gold ring enclosing a gold rosette on a red ground.⁹

A specimen of the second motif was uncovered by us in the south arch, above the east springing (fig. 5). The spade-like form, which is 1.59 m. high, is outlined all round with two rows of black glass tesserae. Inside, it is divided into chevrons of the following colors (from top to bottom): yellow-green delimited by one row of black glass; gold delimited by two rows of red glass; silver delimited by one row of black glass; yellow-green likewise delimited by one row of black glass; gold delimited by two rows of red glass; finally, silver extending all the way down into the trunk of the tree. Attached to the base are two curving tendrils terminating in buds. These are rendered in three shades of green (yellow-green, leaf-green, and turquoise) and are accented with dark blue.

We have not completely uncovered a specimen of the third motif, the foot of which may be seen in figure 5, directly above the tree. Its shape, which has been reproduced in paint by Fossati's decorators, may be dimly discerned beneath the overpainting (fig. 11). It had two projecting wings and terminated in a trefoil.

The decoration of the reveals is very tidily executed and consists exclusively of glass tesserae. The overall background (average width 0.72 m.) is pure gold (i.e., without any admixture of silver), and the tesserae are everywhere set flush with the surface. Furthermore, the mosaic curves without any visible break both onto the front edge of the arch and onto the tympanum.

2. THE BAND OF DIAMONDS AND ROSETTES

This is a design that is used very extensively throughout the nave of St. Sophia. In the tympana it clearly belongs to two periods: in our sequel we shall attempt to define the areas pertaining to each. The characteristics of Phase I work are more or less the following (figs. 6, 7). The band is about 0.60 m. wide, has an overall background of widely spaced blue glass tesserae, and is delimited on either side by a silver border three rows wide. The diamond motif has an

⁹ The basic motif, that of a diamond overlying a square, is, of course, a very common one. It recurs, e.g., in the *opus sectile* decoration of the apse of S. Vitale, Ravenna. It was also frequently used in textiles. Cf. the embroidered shoulder-patch of St. Vitalis and the costume of the first lady to the right of Theodora, both in S. Vitale: F. W. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden-Baden, 1958), pls. 356, 366.

outer rectangular frame of gold enclosing a field of green. Within the latter is set a circular disk of silver which contains a red diamond with a step-like projection on each side. Attached to each side of the main diamond is a semicircular ring of silver enclosing a gold step motif on a red ground.

The rosette may be described as a St. Andrew's cross with a trefoil at the end of each arm. This is done in gold, usually three rows wide. A line having a double bulge (also in gold) connects each arm of the cross to the next, thus forming four bilobed leaves. Two of these are filled with red tesserae and two with green or turquoise. The green filling is regularly separated from the gold outline by a line of dark blue cubes one row wide.

In Phase I work we find, once again, that only glass tesserae are used. On the vertical surface of the tympana the gold and silver cubes are mostly tilted forward. The setting bed for the gold is painted yellow-ochre; it is painted red in areas that were to be set with red tesserae.

Phase II work represents the imitation of the same design with cheaper materials. White marble is often used to take the place of silver, slate¹⁰ instead of blue glass, terra-cotta¹¹ instead of red glass. Areas of gold usually contain an admixture of silver cubes. The workmanship is much more slovenly than in Phase I, and the individual motifs are far from being geometrically correct.

3. THE CRENELLATED BORDER

This, as we have said, is present only in the south tympanum (fig. 10). The border, of which only a small section has been exposed, is about 0.48 m. wide and consists of a repeating step motif spaced in such a way that the design is reversible. In the middle of each motif is a circular disk. The entire design is done in gold: the crenellations pointing toward the center of the tympanum are filled with gold set flush with the surface, those pointing outward are filled with tilted gold cubes. Two values of gold are thus produced and the resultant effect is extremely subtle. The disks are similarly differentiated: the gold in them is flush when the crenellation is angled, and angled when the crenellation is flush. They are, however, outlined with one row of dark blue cubes. In one case the disk is filled with gold cubes set concentrically and its outline consists of "bottle glass."¹² The border is delimited from the overall gold background of the tympanum by one row of silver cubes, but this slight demarcation extends only as high as the zone of the niches and appears to be absent above that. Throughout the crenellated border the gold contains an admixture of silver cubes.

4. THE CHURCH FATHERS

All the Fathers of the north tympanum were represented in the same attitude: the right hand held in front of the breast in a gesture of blessing, the left

¹⁰ We have used this term for a grey-black local stone that comes from Beykoz on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus.

¹¹ The terra-cotta cubes appear to have been dipped in red paint, but this has largely disappeared.

¹² I.e., clear glass whose color varies from amber to brown to green. In most cases these were gold tesserae set upside down or sideways. When seen from a distance they appear quite dark.

hand, covered by a fold of the chasuble, supporting a book of Gospels. In the south tympanum, as we know from the Fossati and Salzenberg drawings, a variation of attitudes was possible in that some of the Fathers had their blessing right hand extended, while others held it in front of the breast. This could not be done in the north tympanum: if the Fathers had their right arm extended, it would have been pointing westward, away from the altar of the church. Apart from differences of headgear, all the Fathers were dressed in the same vestments, namely a tunic (*sticharion*) with vertical red and blue *clavi*, a chasuble (*phelonion*) and an *omophorion* decorated with crosses. The surviving figures are summarily finished toward the bottom, that part being hidden from view by the projecting step of the niches. As a result of this the bishops' slippers are barely indicated.

i. ST. IGNATIUS THE YOUNGER (fig. 12)

Dimensions:

Height of niche from step to outer edge of reveal	2.15 m.
Width of niche including reveals	1.80
Height of mosaic panel from step of niche to top of nimbus	2.10
Width of mosaic panel inside red borders	1.62
Height of figure from tip of foot to top of head	1.89
Ditto to top of nimbus	1.97
Horizontal diameter of nimbus	0.395
Height of head	0.255
Height of letters: <i>tau</i> 0.14, <i>iota</i> 0.145, <i>omicron</i> 0.10, <i>epsilon</i> 0.165	

Background: The entire figure including the nimbus is outlined with two rows of gold cubes, as is also the entire panel inside the decorative frame. The letters of the inscription are outlined with a single row of gold cubes. The background is set flush with the surface. There is a sprinkling of silver cubes in the background, roughly 8 to 10 percent of the total. The average size of the gold tesserae is 6×8 mm.

Inscription (figs. 15–16): ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟC || Ο ΝΕΟC. The letters are in different values of dark blue and purplish black glass. The initial *iota* is dotted, but because of lack of space, there is only one dot on the right side instead of the usual two.

Nimbus: The outline of the nimbus consists of an outer row of turquoise glass and an inner row of turquoise cubes alternating with cubes of white limestone. The inner circumference of the nimbus and the head are trimmed with a single row of gold set flush with the vertical surface, whereas the field of the nimbus consists of angled gold cubes in horizontal rows. The field of the nimbus does not contain any silver cubes. The head is slightly sunken with regard to the nimbus because of the smaller size of tesserae used in the former.

Head (fig. 13): Ignatius is wearing a skull-cap outlined with one row of "bottle glass." The skull-cap itself is of white marble. Its inner border is made of a single row of light purple glass which also outlines the hair above the forehead and

defines tufts of hair. The hair is brushed forward and is rendered in white marble shaded with grey marble.

The flesh is in three tones: pink, creamy-yellow and white marble. The pink is in two values, one pure pink, the other having a slightly brownish tinge. Shadows on the flesh are in two values of green glass (yellow-green and light green) and two values of olive green.

The ears and neck are outlined in dark red glass. The eyebrows are of dark purple glass where they converge on the bridge of the nose and of a lighter purple in the region of the temples. The upper eyelashes, the pupils and irises of the eyes and the nostrils are in dark purple glass. The whites of the eyes are of white limestone on the spectator's right side and of grey marble on the left. The shadow under the lower eyelid is in olive green and light green, while above the upper lid it is light green.

The ridge of the nose is lit down the center line with white marble. Next to this, on the spectator's right, is a vertical row of brownish pink marble. The shadow on the right is in olive greens, on the left in light greens. The lobes and tip of the nose are in creamy yellow marble.

The crease lines on either side of the mouth are olive green. The parting of the lips and the line below the lower lip are dark red glass. The lips now show as white marble, but the tesserae in them were originally dipped in vermilion colored lead paint.

The size of the tesserae used in the head range from 2 mm. square to 6 mm. square.

Hand (fig. 14): The tesserae used here are much larger than in the head. Flesh tones: white, pink, and brownish pink (all marble) outlined with "bottle glass."

Gospel Book (fig. 14): This is slightly trapezoid in shape. The cover has a red border studded with "pearls," the latter consisting of three or four tesserae of white limestone set in clusters. The cover itself is gold, the tesserae being angled in rows aligned with the axis of the book, and it has an inner border consisting of a single line of red glass. The cover is further decorated with five rectangular emeralds, of which the center one (set in diamond position) and the two bottom ones have a blue glass outline, whereas the two top ones have no outline. The clasps are in dark blue glass; the pages are indicated by alternating lines of silver and dark red glass.

Omophorion: This is outlined with one row of yellow-green glass and consists of white limestone except for a barely perceptible line of white Proconnesian marble all round the edges. The *omophorion* is decorated with three crosses, two on the shoulders and one below the knees: these are made of alternately red and blue glass in each arm. The bottom border of the *omophorion* consists of three single lines of red glass: between the first and second lines from the top is a series of red pellets. Finally, there is a white fringe in three knotted tassels contrasting with the purple-grey shadow of the *sticharion*.

Phelonion: The lighted parts are in white limestone, the shaded parts in grey marble and light purple stone. Outlines and fold-lines are in "bottle glass."

Sticharion: The lighted areas are in white marble and limestone, the shaded areas in grey and purple stone. The outline is yellow-green glass and the same

material goes into the folds, especially near the silhouette. There are two pairs of vertical *clavi*, one on each side of the figure, made of red and blue glass, the blue being used in part to suggest shadow, as, e.g., below the knee. The coloring of the *sticharion* is differentiated from that of the *phelonion* in that, 1. Its white is largely marble instead of limestone; 2. It is outlined in yellow-green, not with "bottle glass." The *sticharion* has a cuff of gold embroidery. This is outlined with red glass. Within the outline is a gold rectangle containing a row of gold cubes set diamond-wise on a purplish stone background. The "collar,"¹³ visible on either side of the neck, is in alternating horizontal rows of "bottle glass" and white limestone.

Horizontal Decorative Band: There is a diamond on either side of the figure; the intervening rosette must be visualized as being behind the figure. The diamond on the right is almost completely destroyed; so our description applies to the one on the left. The ornamental band, including its upper border of two rows of silver cubes (originally there may have been four) is 0.55 m. high. The background is of loosely set blue glass. The diamond has an outer rectangular frame of gold four rows wide. The field within the frame is of mixed light blue and turquoise glasses and contains a silver disk within which is a more or less quatrefoil figure in red glass. To each side of the diamond is attached a semicircular silver ring filled with red glass and containing a stepped figure in gold. The mosaic peters out into unset plaster about 7 cm. above the step of the niche.

Reveal Ornament: A double row of dark red glass, interrupted by the crown of the nimbus, surrounds the entire panel. The reveal ornament, preserved only in fragments, consists of little quatrefoils (10 to 12 cm. high) of dark blue glass having at their center clusters of white limestone cubes. The quatrefoils are outlined with white limestone or, in a few cases, partly with silver. The background is gold with a sprinkling of silver. The depth of the reveal, measured vertically, is 12 cm.

ii. ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (fig. 17)

Dimensions:

Height of niche	2.10 m.
Width of niche including reveals	2.16
Height of mosaic panel from step of niche to top of nimbus	2.00
Width of mosaic panel inside red borders	1.90
Height of figure to top of head	1.85
Ditto to top of nimbus	1.95
Diameter of nimbus	0.40
Height of head including beard	0.25
Height of letters: <i>iota</i> 0.145, <i>omega</i> 0.12, <i>nu</i> 0.13/0.17, <i>sigma</i> 0.11, <i>omicron</i> 0.11.	

¹³ The nature of this article, worn under the *phelonion*, is not quite clear to us: it may have been either the collar of the *sticharion* or a scarf. For a similar striped "collar," cf. the fresco of St. Akepsimas in the Karanlık kilise, Göreme: M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, II (Greenwich, Conn., 1967), fig. 226.

Background: Same characteristics as in the case of St. Ignatius the Younger, except that the proportion of silver cubes is smaller (about 2 percent of the total).

Inscription (figs. 24–25): ΙΩΑΝΝΗC || Ο ΧΡΥCOC||ΤΟΜΟC. Initial *iota* dotted, the two *nus* in 'Ιωάννης in ligature. The letters are made of dark blue and dark purple glass.

Nimbus (fig. 18): In three rows of dark blue and dark purple glass tesserae, the outermost and innermost being solid, while in the middle one the dark glass tesserae alternate with tesserae of white limestone. The field of the nimbus is of gold, without any admixture of silver, laid concentrically. The head and collar are outlined with a single row of gold. Where the nimbus touches the shoulders the first cube of its innermost ring is gold instead of dark blue so as to allow the silhouette of the shoulders to tell more clearly.

Head (fig. 19): The hair is outlined along its outer and inner circumferences with "bottle glass." The main mass of the hair is in light purple glass with a few accents of "bottle glass." There is a lock of hair in the middle of the forehead. The beard is in light and medium purple glass without a dark outline.

The flesh tones are in three kinds of marble: white, cream, light pink, medium pink. The shadows are in three values of green on the spectator's left and two values of olive on the right.

The pupils of the eyes are dark purple glass, the irises light purple. The whites are in cream-colored marble lit on the spectator's right side with a couple of white limestone cubes. The tear ducts are indicated by means of single cubes of vermilion glass. The upper eyelids are dark purple, the lower dark olive glass. The heavy eyebrows are in two rows, the upper one purple, the lower one dark olive. The shadows round the eyes are yellow green.

The ridge of the nose consists of a vertical row of white cubes terminating in a large pear-shaped tessera (also white) on the tip and three cubes of vermilion glass. Following the line of the ridge on the spectator's right are a row of medium pink marble and a row of dark olive glass. On the left of the ridge is one row of light pink marble. The nostrils are indicated by means of two dark purple cubes on each side.

The ears are in white and cream marble outlined with "bottle glass." The concha is shaded in light purple.

The lips consist of single lines of vermilion glass. The parting of the mouth and the shadow under the lower lip are dark purple. The slight moustache is in medium purple and different values of olive. The neck is outlined with bottle glass. The flesh is in white, cream, and light pink marbles with light green shadows.

The tesserae used in the head are from 2 to 6 mm. square as also in the case of St. Ignatius the Younger.

Hand (fig. 20): Clumsily drawn, it is outlined all round with dark red glass. The flesh tones are cream and medium pink, highlighted with white marble. The cubes are quite big, up to 12 mm. in length.

Gospel Book (fig. 21): The cover has an outer border consisting of a row of "pearls" (groups of limestone cubes) separated from one another by dark purple

lines. There is, furthermore, an inner border—a single row of dark red glass. Within the latter, set into the gold ground, are five emeralds, the central one circular, the two upper ones rectangular, the two lower ones of somewhat indeterminate shape. The outline of the book as well as its four clasps are in dark purple; the pages are in alternate lines of gold and red.

Omophorion: Outlined with one row of light green and yellow-green, inside which is one row of white Proconnesian marble turning to grey marble at a point a little above the knees. Except for this double outline, the material of the *omophorion* is rendered in white limestone. The three crosses are alternately red and blue in each arm, the center lines being indicated by widely spaced gold tesserae set diamondwise. The lower end of the *omophorion* has no ornamental border, merely a fringe of three tassels.

Phelonion: Highlights in white limestone, shaded areas in grey marble and purplish stone, the latter being used mostly in the lower part of the garment on the spectator's right. Outline and fold lines in "bottle glass."

Sticharion: The lightest color used is grey Proconnesian marble; shaded areas in light purple and khaki-brown stone; fold-lines light green glass. There is a double *clavus* on each side in two to three vertical rows of dark blue and dark red glass, blue being also used to indicate shadow on the *clavi*, namely, below the *phelonion*, the fold over the figure's right knee, and folds over the feet. Among the red tesserae are a few of terra-cotta and one of grey marble that were dipped in red lead paint. In the outermost *clavus* on the spectator's left there is, just below the knee, a small area of unset plaster.

Cuff: Large, widely-spaced cubes of grey marble outlined with a double row of dark red glass. A small corner of shadow inside the cuff is indicated by a cluster of dark blue cubes next to the wrist.

Collar: On the spectator's right it is in alternating rows of white limestone and red glass. On the left, instead of red glass, there are two small patches of plaster painted a dark earth-red.

Slippers: These are not outlined and are therefore barely visible. They are made of grey, purple, and khaki-brown stones.

Horizontal Decorative Band (figs. 22, 23): Height 0.54 m. from the step of the niche; outlined at the top with four rows of silver tesserae. The two diamonds, which are very untidily drawn, have an outer rectangular frame of three to four rows of gold, inside which is an area filled with emerald, light green, blue, and turquoise glasses mixed. At the center of the diamonds is a circular disk outlined with one row of blue glass on the spectator's left and two on the right. The field of the disks is silver. The one on the left encloses a stepped square, the one on the right something resembling a leaf, both in green. The semicircular rings attached to the sides of the diamonds are in two to three rows of silver. They are filled with mixed green tesserae and contain a stepped figure in gold. The general background of the decorative band is in dark blue and purple glass except on the right of the figure where it is mostly in dark blue Beykoz stone: the supply of glass tesserae must have been exhausted. The mosaic peters out into unset plaster 6 to 10 cm. above the step.

Reveal Ornament (fig. 26): Width, including red borders, 0.27 to 0.29 m. This is a diaper pattern and is here preserved only on the right side of the niche. There remain five diamonds placed end to end, each one about 0.25 m. high. Outline of diamonds in three rows of gold with a sprinkling of silver cubes; inside of diamonds red glass. The diamonds contain little green quatrefoils outlined against the red with one row of gold. The triangular spaces between the diamonds are dark blue mixed with dark purple and contain gold stepped forms with centers consisting of two to four green glass cubes. The lowest diamond has an inside field of terra-cotta instead of red glass.

Ornament between Niches 4 and 5 (fig. 27): Here we have one rosette pertaining to the horizontal decorative band. Height 0.54 m. including upper border consisting of four rows of silver; width 0.64. The arms of the X (each terminating in a lily) and the outer outline of the four "hearts" are in three rows of gold containing a few silver cubes. The upper and lower hearts are filled with mixed turquoise and blue glass; the two lateral hearts with large cubes of terra-cotta and a few stray cubes of red glass. The general background is in dark blue and purple glasses.

Above this ornament plain gold mosaic survives to a height of about 0.30 m. (measured along the center line). It is set flush with the surface and contains a liberal sprinkling of silver, about 8 percent of the total.

iii. ST. IGNATIUS THEOPHOROS (fig. 28)

Dimensions:

Height of niche	2.10 m.
Width of niche including reveals	2.16
Height of mosaic panel from step of niche to top of nimbus	1.99
Width of panel inside red borders	1.93
Height of figure to top of head	1.84
Ditto to top of halo	1.94
Diameter of nimbus	0.395
Height of head including beard	0.325
Height of letters: first <i>iota</i> 0.135, <i>tau</i> 0.12, <i>omicron</i> 0.10, <i>phi</i> 0.16.	

Background: The surface of the mosaic is rather uneven as also in the case of St. Athanasius. Outlining of figure and letters as in the other panels. The proportion of silver cubes mixed with the gold is about 9 percent and there are also five or six red glass cubes scattered at random. To the right of the figure, below the inscription, is a small cross of which only the top and right arms are preserved. The cross is outlined with a single row of "bottle glass" and is filled with plain gold.

Inscription (figs. 35–36): ΙΓΝΑ || ΤΙΟC || Ο ΘΕΟ || ΦΟΡΟC. Initial *iota* dotted. The letters are made of dark blue and purple glasses; a couple of red glass cubes have also been inserted into them.

Nimbus (fig. 29): The field of the nimbus is in pure gold laid concentrically. The outline consists of two solid rows of emerald green with a few cubes of light

green thrown in. The head is slightly sunken with regard to the field of the nimbus.

Head (figs. 29 and 30): The hair has an outer and an inner outline in medium purple glass and is drawn in vertical lines, alternately light green glass and white marble. The beard has been treated essentially in the same way: it is outlined and shadowed with light and medium purple as well as olive glass, while the strands of hair are of white marble alternating with light and yellow-green glass.

The flesh tones are in white, cream, and one value of pink marble. The face is outlined with one row of light and yellow-green, the same colors being also used for shading, except in the lower part of the cheeks which are shaded in olive. The size of the tesserae used in the head is slightly larger than in the other two panels that have been described, the average being 4×6 mm.

The pupils of the eyes consist of a single cube of dark purple glass. The whites are of cream marble lit on the spectator's right side with white limestone. Upper lashes dark purple, lower lashes dark olive. Eyebrows light and medium purple. Shadow between eyebrow and upper eyelash light green.

The ridge of the nose is formed by one vertical row of white marble. This is followed on the spectator's right by one row of pink marble and one row of olive glass; on the left, by one row of cream marble and one row of light green glass. Nostrils dark purple.

The ears are in the same flesh tones as the face and are outlined in red glass. The concha of the right ear is shaded in yellow-green with a couple of red cubes to mark deeper cavities.

The lips are of pink marble, the parting being red glass. The shadow at the corners of the mouth is dark purple, whereas under the lower lip it is medium and light purple.

A small portion of the neck is visible to the left of the beard from the spectator's point of view. It is in the same flesh tones as the face.

Hand (fig. 33): Outlined only on underside of palm and fingers in red glass which is also used to indicate the nails. The flesh is in cream and pink marble with a few white marble cubes on the knuckles and the back of the hand. The ring finger is bent to join the thumb that is hidden from view.

Gospel Book (fig. 34): The entire book is outlined in red (double row on spectator's right). The cover is gold with a sprinkling of silver and is decorated, within a further red border, with round emeralds disposed in an X. We are to imagine five of these, but the two lower ones are hidden by the Saint's covered left hand. The round jewels have an outline of blue glass. Round the central jewel is a ring of smaller ones, of which four are emerald mixed with light green (not outlined) and two are blue. The pages of the book are alternately red and gold and there are two red clamps.

Omophorion: Outlined for the most part in red glass. Within the red line is a complete outline in yellow-green. The material of the garment is in white limestone: there is no line of white marble along the edges. The three crosses are alternately red and blue in each arm. The blue is mixed with purple and a few

stray cubes of green and "bottle glass." The *omophorion* terminates in three triangular white tassels.

Phelonion: Outline and folds in "bottle glass." Highlights white limestone on a field of grey Proconnesian marble. Shadows in light purple stone.

Sticharion: Grey-blue Proconnesian marble and light grey stone. Outlined on spectator's right with one row of "bottle glass," on the left with the red line of the *clavus*. Shadow lines in light greens. Two red and blue *clavi* on each side, the blue for the most part running parallel to the red, and not used to suggest shading.

Cuff: Rather haphazard arrangement of stripes: one of white limestone in the middle, two stripes of alternating red and gold tesserae, the rest red and blue.

Collar: Alternating rows of white limestone and red glass.

Slippers: Only his right slipper is visible. It is in unset plaster outlined in light green glass. The mosaic peters out 5 to 14 cm. above the step of the niche.

Horizontal Decorative Band (figs. 31, 32): Height 0.49 to 0.51 m. from step of niche. Upper border consists of three (not four) rows of silver. The two diamonds (the right one is noticeably smaller than the left one) have a quadrilateral frame of three rows of gold enclosing an area of light green mixed with a considerable number of light blue, dark blue, and emerald cubes, especially in the diamond on the right. At the center of each diamond is a silver disk containing a cross-on-square form in red glass. The semicircles attached to the four sides of each diamond have a silver border two rows wide. They contain stepped forms in gold on a red glass ground.

The lower part of the diamond on the left (fig. 31) including part of the two lower semicircles and a section of background has been repaired in frescoed plaster, presumably in the late Byzantine period. The patch, crudely plastered over the surviving mosaic, is painted in blue, white (for silver), red, yellow, (for gold) and green. Furthermore, there is a small patch of twelve light blue glass cubes (mixed shades) in the horizontal silver border to the left of the figure, where the upper left semicircle of the diamond touches the border. This, too, may be a repair.

Reveal Ornament: Outlined on both sides with double row of red. Quatrefoils, outlined with one row of white limestone, consist of dark blue and dark purple glass with a few stray cubes of other colors. They have no centers. The background is gold with a small admixture of silver.

Ornamental Surround of Niche: This survives only on the left side to a height of about 0.65 m. from the step of the niche, and consists of the same diaper pattern that has been described *supra*, p. 14, except that the quatrefoils within the diamonds are blue with an admixture of emerald green, while the gold stepped forms in the triangular spaces have no centers.

COLOR CHART OF TESSERAE USED IN THE
THREE COMPLETE FIGURES OF CHURCH FATHERS¹⁴

Ign. Neos Jn. Chrys. Ign. Theoph.

Metallic

1. Gold	yes	yes	yes
2. Silver	yes	yes	yes

Glasses

3. Deep red	yes	yes	yes
4. Vermilion	no	yes	no
5. Yellow-green	yes	yes	yes
6. Light Green	yes	yes	yes
7. Leaf or emerald green	yes	yes	yes
8. Turquoise or light blue	yes	yes	yes
9. Dark blue	yes	yes	yes
10. Purple in three values: dark (almost black), medium, and light	yes	yes	yes
11. Olive in two values: medium and light	yes	yes	yes
12. "Bottle glass"	yes	yes	yes

Stones

13. White limestone	yes	yes	yes
14. Proconnesian white marble	yes	yes	yes
15. Proconnesian grey marble ¹⁵	yes	yes	yes
16. Cream marble	yes	yes	yes
17. Pink marble in two values: light and medium	yes	yes	one value
18. Light purple weathered granite	yes	yes	yes
19. Light grey weathered granite	no	yes	yes
20. Slate-grey (Beykoz) stone	no	yes	no
21. <i>Terra-cotta</i> (originally painted?)	no	yes	odd cubes

Painted cubes

22. Red lead	yes	yes	1
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¹⁴ Cf. our comments in *DOP*, 19 (1965), 132 note 18.

¹⁵ I.e., the grey vein of No. 14.

iv. ST. ATHANASIUS (fig. 38)

Dimensions:

Height of niche	2.14 m.
Width of niche including reveals	1.87
Height of mosaic panel from step of niche to top of nimbus	2.07
Width of panel inside red borders	1.67
Height of figure from tip of foot to top of head	1.89
Ditto to top of nimbus	1.99
Horizontal diameter of nimbus	0.39
Height of letters: <i>nu</i> 0.12; <i>alpha</i> 0.11	

Background: The figure and the nimbus (on the outside) are outlined with a double row of gold, as is also the entire panel; the letters of the inscription with a single row. Amount of silver cubes mixed with the gold about 10 percent.

Inscription: [ΑΘΑ] || ΝΑÇ[ΙΟÇ]. The letters are of dark blue and purple glasses.

Nimbus (fig. 39): The ring of the nimbus is in light green glass two to three tesserae in width and is punctuated with pellets of white limestone set halfway through the width of the ring. The field of the nimbus is in pure gold angled in horizontal rows and is not trimmed on the inner circumference of the ring. The head is, however, trimmed with a single row of gold set flush with the surface.

Head: Outlined on the spectator's right side with a single row of "bottle glass." The hair is represented by means of short vertical strokes alternately "bottle glass" and white limestone set rather loosely in the frescoed bed. The hair is shadowed over the forehead with yellow-green glass which is a little brighter on the spectator's left side. The flesh tones visible in the forehead are cream and pink marble.

Omophorion: Only the lower end survives. Outlined all round with a single row of yellow-green glass, inside which is a second line of grey marble. The body of the garment is of white limestone. A knotted fringe at the hem is silhouetted by a shadow of black glass on the lower garment.

Phelonion: The fragment that remains on the spectator's left is outlined with one to two rows of "bottle glass." The lighted parts of the garment are in white limestone, the shaded parts in grey marble and light purple stone.

Sticharion: Grey marble, light grey and light purple stones with white marble highlights. There are two *clavi* on the spectator's left side and one on the right, all in vertical rows of red and turquoise glass. There appear to have been two more at the center of the figure.

Slippers: White and grey marble and light purple stone. Some yellow-green glass is used over the top of the left foot.

Horizontal Decorative Band: Height of band including silver border 0.52 m. Unlike the other panels which have a diamond on both sides of the figure, this one has a diamond on the left and a rosette on the right. The background of the band is of dark blue glass in which a few cubes of red, green, and gold as well as white marble and limestone are scattered at random. The silver border is

four rows wide above the diamond, while above the rosette it is, as far as one can judge, only two rows wide.

The diamond has a gold frame three rows wide enclosing an area of blue tesserae of different shades with a sprinkling of green tesserae. At the center is a silver disk containing an irregular form, perhaps meant to be a leaf, of green glass. The semicircular forms attached to the sides of the diamond are of green glass and are bounded with two rows of silver. They contain gold stepped figures contiguous to the frame of the diamond.

The outline elements of the rosette to the right of the figure are of gold, two or three rows wide. The bilobed leaves on the two sides were red. The one on the right, which is the better preserved of the two, is loosely set with dark red glass and terra-cotta tesserae. The leaves at the top and bottom, of which only very small areas survive, were of green glass.

One more element of the same decorative band, also a rosette, survives between niches 6 and 7, i.e., between the Athanasius niche and the next niche to the west. It exhibits the following distinctive features: the leaves at the top and bottom are of mixed blue glasses, while the side ones are of green glass; the line along the top of the panel dividing it from the gold background above is in two rows of silver, but for the first 15 cm. from the right it was left as unset plaster, as was also the vertical termination on the right side of the panel where a double row of red tesserae was called for.

Reveal Ornament: This is preserved nearly intact. It is outlined on both sides with three rows of red glass tesserae and has a width of 0.11 to 0.14 m. excluding the outline. As before, the pattern is on a gold background sprinkled with silver and consists of quatrefoils of mixed blue glasses outlined with a single row of white limestone cubes. On the right-hand side of the reveal (but not on the left) the quatrefoils have centers consisting of a single cube of white limestone. The height of the quatrefoils is from 0.09 to 0.11 m.

Ornamental Surround of Niche: The surround is better preserved here than in the previously described niches, extending as it does on the left-hand side to the very crown of the niche. The width of the surround, including the red border lines on both sides, is 0.25 m. (0.20 excluding the borders). The pattern consists of a string of diamonds placed end to end: originally, there must have been twenty-five of them in all. The diamonds have gold outlines, three rows wide, and are filled with red glass. Each one contains a quatrefoil outlined with a single row of gold, filled with green glasses of different shades and having at its center a cluster of four gold cubes.

The triangular spaces between the diamonds are filled with blue glass (discounting some odd cubes of different colors) and each contains a gold stepped form having a spot of dark red at the center.

The tops of the niches were, as we have said, connected by a horizontal band of diaper design. This, as far as we can judge, was similar in detail to the surrounds of the niches. Only a tiny fragment of the horizontal band remains where it abuts on the left side of the Athanasius niche, its lower outline of three rows of red glass being at a height of 2.60 m. above the cornice.

We have described the Athanasius panel as it exists today. In 1847–49 the bishop's figure was nearly intact and it was fortunately sketched by the architect Gaspare Fossati (fig. 37). Fossati's color indications appear to be exact: he notes that the nimbus was green with white pellets, that the hair (which looks like a skull-cap on the sketch) was dark and that it was outlined against the forehead with a strip of light green, that the beard was grey-brown, that the *omophorion* was outlined in green, brown, and yellow, that the crosses upon it were red and blue, and that the color of the garments as a whole was darker than that of the other bishops, ranging as it did from brown to grey to white. Fossati also made the following observation: "Quest'immagine è di un lavoro più ordinario, e antico."¹⁶ The execution of this mosaic may indeed have been less accomplished than that of the others, but we cannot subscribe to the opinion that it was of earlier date.

5. THE MONOGRAMS

Originally, there must have been four monograms in medallions placed below the four major Prophets at the east and west ends of each tympanum. The first of these (fig. 8), located at the east end of the south tympanum, has long been known from Salzenberg's publication, and has come down to us intact. The medallion has a diameter of 1.07 m., its ring being of blue glass three rows wide. Part of its upper circumference is, however, a plaster patch painted grey. On the outside the medallion is trimmed with a double row of gold, but this trim ceases a short distance above the center, and from there up the horizontal lines of tesserae of the overall background reach right up to the blue circle. The overall background is set flush with the surface and contains an admixture of silver cubes.

The monogram reads Κύριε and consists of the letters K, Y, P, and Ε attached to the arms of a cross. All of this is likewise in blue glass. The field of the medallion consists of angled rows of gold (with a fair admixture of silver) in a setting-bed painted yellow-ochre.

The second and third monograms are unfortunately lost. The fourth one, placed at the east end of the north tympanum, was found by us in 1962 (figs. 40, 41): prior to that its existence had not been known. Actually, only the upper right quarter of the medallion is preserved. The circular ring consists of dark blue and dark purple glass four rows wide and, when complete, must have had a diameter of 1.08 m. The field inside the medallion is in widely spaced rows of angled gold with a few silver cubes thrown in. The setting-bed is colored yellow-ochre. Of the monogram there remain the letters T, attached to the upper arm of the cross, Ε (rather than C) and H, attached to the right arm. The letters and arms of the cross are also of dark blue and dark purple glass three to four rows wide.

The upper segment of the outer edge of the medallion's circumference is trimmed with one row of gold, but the trim stops at a point level with the top

¹⁶ Cf. Mango, *Materials*, 54.

of the *eta*. At a distance about 4 cm. east of the medallion there is a clear suture in the gold background (fig. 43). To the left of the break—we refer here to a narrow strip following the outer circumference of the medallion—the gold background is in angled rows on a yellow-ochre setting-bed and contains an admixture of silver cubes. To the right of the break, the gold cubes, evenly but a little loosely spaced, are also angled, but they are on a red setting-bed and contain no silver. When the suture is seen in profile, the plaster bed of the mosaic on the right is seen to form an underlap, that on the left an overlap. We have before us, therefore, the work of two periods, Phases I and II.

With regard to the meaning of the monogram, the same arrangement of letters may be seen in the panel of the Emperor Alexander (fig. 42), where it has been interpreted as $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta$.¹⁷ This, in all probability, is also the meaning of our monogram, although it may have read simply $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta$ (without $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}$). The four monograms, therefore, should be completed as $\text{Κύριε βοήθει τῷ δεῖνι πιστῷ δεσπότῃ}$. There may be some doubt as to the exact formulation, but not as to the meaning. Had the emperor's name (which was probably contained in the third monogram) been preserved, our task of dating this mosaic decoration would have been much simpler.

CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

Our findings in the tympana correspond exactly to those made by us a few years ago in the apse of St. Sophia. Discounting some minor repairs (such as the patch of painted plaster in the panel of Ignatius Theophoros), we have encountered only two phases of decoration. As in the apse, Phase 1 is characterized by the exclusive use of glass tesserae, by very tidy workmanship, by the absence of silver cubes from gold backgrounds which are on a red setting bed, and by some minor traits such as the avoidance of the juxtaposition of green and gold. On vertical surfaces metallic tesserae (gold and silver) are regularly angled. Phase 1 mosaic is found in the reveals of the great arches and at the east end of both tympana, its boundaries, insofar as we have been able to trace them, being indicated in fold-out figures A and B.

All the rest of the mosaic decoration, including the figures of the Fathers, pertains to Phase II. Its execution—and this is the first thing that strikes the observer—is untidy in the extreme. The geometric motifs of the decorative borders are uneven and lopsided. Furthermore, the supply of tesserae of the required colors appears to have been insufficient so that, again and again, attempts were made to economize on glass tesserae by substituting cheaper materials. White marble was used in places instead of silver, blue-grey slate instead of blue glass, terra-cotta (perhaps dipped in red paint) instead of red glass. The figural panels are unfinished at the bottom. In the decorative bor-

¹⁷ Cf. Underwood and Hawkins, "The Portrait of the Emperor Alexander," 192.

ders, where the design called for a block of a single color (as, e.g., in the leaves of the rosettes) we find that several shades have been used. We believe that these phenomena are explainable by economic rather than stylistic factors. How short the supply of tesserae was in the ninth century (to which, as we shall see, Phase II should be attributed) may be gauged from the report that the Emperor Basil I took down the mosaic decoration of Justinian's mausoleum at the Holy Apostles and reused it in the Nea Ekklesia and the church of the Virgin Mary at the Forum, both of which he had built.¹⁸

Phase II work has these further characteristics. Areas of gold, except for the haloes of the Fathers, always contain an admixture of silver cubes, up to about 10 percent. The setting-bed of gold backgrounds is painted yellow-ochre. The overall gold background on vertical surfaces is set flush with the surface: only small areas of gold, such as the crenellated border and the circular disks of the monograms, are in angled rows to differentiate them from the background.

The adjustment of Phase II to Phase I work could not be achieved without some slight inconsistencies. In the earlier scheme the upper edge of the horizontal band of diamonds and rosettes at the base of the tympana came to a height of 1.30 to 1.35 m. above the cornice. The ninth-century decorators deployed this band across the niches, but they were evidently reluctant to make it reach up to the hips of the Fathers, and so lowered it by about 0.30 m. They were not able, furthermore, to obtain a regular alternation of diamonds and rosettes. We have seen that, whereas Ignatius the Younger, John Chrysostom, and Ignatius Theophoros are flanked by diamonds on both sides, Athanasius has a diamond on the left and a rosette on the right. A possible explanation of this inconsistency is that the decoration of the north tympanum was carried out from west to east. The wall space between the edge of the tympanum and the first niche afforded room for seven motifs, and we have to assume that the first—hence also the seventh—was a rosette. We therefore have a diamond to the left of St. Ignatius the Younger, we imagine a rosette "behind" him, and we have a diamond to the right of him. The same formula was applied as far as the Athanasius niche; to the east of it there were again seven alternating motifs whose order had been established in Phase I, and these, as we know for certain, started and ended with a diamond. The only way of avoiding the repetition of two identical motifs was, therefore, to have a diamond to the left of Athanasius and a rosette to his right, thus disrupting the previous order.

We do not know how this problem was solved in the south tympanum since none of the figural mosaics survive, and Fossati's sketches do not show the geometric motifs. If, however, we may trust Salzenberg's drawings, a different solution was applied there, since he shows the Bishops flanked not by identical, but by the two different motifs.¹⁹ His indications are, however, partly contra-

¹⁸ *Patria Constant.*, ed. Preger, *Script. orig. Constant.*, II (Leipzig, 1907), 288. Cf. Leo Grammaticus, ed. Bonn, 257.

¹⁹ *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* (Berlin, 1855), pls. xxviii, xxix: Mango, *Materials*, figs. 59, 60 (the latter reproduced from Salzenberg's original watercolor).

dictory²⁰ and it may be that, instead of recording the motifs on the spot, he added them from memory in his Berlin studio.

Another inconsistency we have already mentioned is the absence of the crenellated border from the north tympanum. The reason for this omission is presumably that a greater area of Phase I mosaic was retained in the north tympanum than in the south.

As regards the figures of the Bishops, we believe that all of them are contemporary, though they were probably executed by different artists. Of the preserved portraits, that of John Chrysostom is the most accomplished, while that of Ignatius Theophoros is the crudest. There are also slight technical variations between the figures. For example, the omophorion of both Ignatius the Younger and John Chrysostom, rendered in white limestone, has all round it a barely perceptible line of white marble. This subtle touch, that can be appreciated only at close quarters, does not occur in the panels of either Ignatius Theophoros or Athanasius. Such differences, however, are not only natural in a vast decorative enterprise, but may even have been deliberate. In all essential respects, both technical and stylistic, in the range of materials used, in the character of the lettering, the existing figures show complete agreement among one another.

THE LOCATION OF THE BISHOPS

The location of the mosaics of the bishops on the north and south walls of the nave may be explained in one of two ways, viz., either by the lack of suitable wall space in the apse, or by the consideration that in the late ninth century the emplacement of bishops' portraits within a given church decoration had not yet been determined. The apse of St. Sophia is indeed entirely revetted with marble up to the level of the cornice, thus affording no room for representations of bishops below the zone devoted to the Virgin Mary and archangels. But even had such room been available, we have no guarantee that in the ninth century

²⁰ At the east end of the south tympanum the border begins with a diamond, so that the seventh motif is likewise a diamond. Following Salzenberg's disposition, we would then expect the following order:

Niche 1: rosette, diamond

pilaster: rosette

Niche 2 (Anthimus): diamond, rosette (so shown)

pilaster: diamond (so shown)

Niche 3 (Basil): rosette, diamond (so shown)

pilaster: rosette

Niche 4 (Gregory Theologos): diamond, rosette (so shown)

pilaster: diamond

Niche 5 (Dionysius): rosette, diamond (shown in reverse)

pilaster: rosette

Niche 6 (Nicholas): diamond, rosette (so shown)

pilaster: diamond

Niche 7 (Gregory of Armenia): diamond, rosette (shown in reverse).

The confusion may be due to the fact that Salzenberg reproduced the last four bishops side by side on one plate (pl. xxix) without the intervening pilasters. He then either forgot the existence of the pilasters or deliberately reversed the sequence of the motifs in niches 5 and 7 so as to obtain an aesthetically pleasing alternation on his plate.

the bishops would have been placed in the apse in preference to another part of the church. Early Christian antecedents do exist for the location of bishops—at any rate, local bishops—in the apse (e.g., S. Apollinare in Classe);²¹ and certainly there are examples of this practice by the tenth century.²² But even among monuments of the ninth to the eleventh centuries we often find portraits of bishops scattered more or less at random:²³ at Göreme, chapel 1 (El Nazar) in the pendentives of the dome;²⁴ Göreme, chapel 3, on the pier separating the nave from the narthex;²⁵ Göreme, chapel 4a, in the east bay of the nave;²⁶ Irhala, Yılanlı kilise, on the east, south, and north arches of the nave, etc. Even at Hosios Loukas, whilst SS. Gregory Nazianzen and Athanasius are in the sanctuary proper, SS. Basil, John Chrysostom, Gregory Thaumaturgos, and Nicholas are in the nave; while at the Anargyroi of Kastoria (first layer: eleventh century?) SS. Basil and Nicholas are in the narthex.²⁷ It is only from the end of the eleventh century onward that the placing of bishops in the sanctuary and, in particular, in the lower register of the apse, becomes *de rigueur*.²⁸

A more complex problem is posed by the selection of Fathers represented in both tympana. Turning back to our list (p. 6), we find in it, on the one hand, a number of highly venerated doctors of the Orthodox Church, whose presence here requires no justification (SS. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Dionysius, Nicholas, Gregory Thaumaturgos, John Chrysostom, Ignatius Theophoros, Cyril, and Athanasius); on the other hand, a smaller number of bishops whose choice must have been dictated by special circumstances (SS. Anthimus, Gregory of Armenia, Ignatius the Younger, Methodius). To be sure, Byzantine practice did not impose in this respect any rigid formula: every case was, to some extent, individual. For the sake of comparison, it may be helpful to quote here a few representative examples. Thus, the iconographic compendium of "Ulpian the Roman" (ninth/tenth century) includes SS. Dionysius, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, Eustathius of Antioch, Tarasius, and Nicephorus (in all, eleven bishops).²⁹ In the apse of St. Sophia, Kiev (1042–46) we find the following from left to right: SS. Epiphanius, Clement of Rome, Gregory Nazianzen, Nicholas,

²¹ The case of S. Maria Antiqua, with its two layers of Church Fathers on the front wall of the apse and the later series in the left aisle, is too individual and complex to serve as a paradigm. Cf. the remarks of P. J. Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII," *Inst. Rom. Norv. Acta ad Archaeol. et artium hist. pertinentia*, 3 (1968), 94.

²² As at Çavuşın (between A.D. 963 and 969), Kılıçlar kilise, and Ayvalı kilise (south chapel) in Cappadocia. On the last, said to be of the early tenth century, see N. and M. Thierry "Ayvalı kilise ou pigeonier de Gülli Dere," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 15 (1965), 103.

²³ See the short discussion of this topic by M. Chatzidakis, "Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες στον 'Ωρωπό," *Δελτ. τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρ.*, 4th Ser., 1 (1959), 92ff.

²⁴ Restle, *op. cit.*, fig. 4 (incorrectly described as an evangelist).

²⁵ G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, I/1 (Paris, 1925), 141f.

²⁶ Restle, *op. cit.*, fig. 48 and accompanying chart.

²⁷ A. Orlandos, *Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα Καστορίας* (Athens, 1938), 29, fig. 20; S. Pelekanides, *Καστορία*, I (Thessaloniki, 1953), pl. 38a.

²⁸ For the first half of the eleventh century we may quote the church of Panagia ton Chalkeon of 1028: see K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Παναγία τῶν Χαλκίων in Thessaloniki* (Graz-Köln, 1966), 28f.; and St. Sophia, Kiev of 1042–46: V. N. Lazarev, *Mozaiiki Sofii Kievskoj* (Moscow, 1960), 110ff.

²⁹ M. Chatzidakis, "'Εκ τῶν Ἐλπίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου," *Ἑπετ. Ἑταιρ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν*, 14 (1938), 412ff.

Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Thaumaturgos.³⁰ At Hosios Loukas, as we have said, SS. Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, Basil, John Chrysostom, Gregory Thaumaturgos, and Nicholas are given preferential treatment, while another sixteen bishops are crowded into the vaults and arches of the prothesis and the diaconicon (SS. Sylvester, Cyprian, Spyridon, Achilios, Anthimos, Eleutherios, Polycarp, Antipas, Gregory of Nyssa, Philotheos, Hierotheos, Dionysius, Ignatius Theophoros, Gregory of Armenia, Cyril of Alexandria, Clement).³¹ At Daphni we find Nicholas, Gregory Thaumaturgos, Gregory of Agrigento, Sylvester, Anthimos, Eleutherios, and Aberkios.³² These few confrontations show us not only the diversity in the choice of bishops from one church to another, but the absence from St. Sophia of some widely revered Fathers, such as, e.g., Gregory of Nyssa.

In searching for a principle of selection, we must begin by ruling out one that would give pride of place to the local Church of Constantinople. The respective sees of the bishops portrayed are the following:

1. Unknown
2. St. Anthimus: Nicomedia
3. St. Basil: Caesarea of Cappadocia
4. St. Gregory: Nazianzus
5. St. Dionysius: Athens
6. St. Nicholas: Myra
7. St. Gregory: Armenia
8. St. Ignatius the Younger: Constantinople
9. St. Methodius: Constantinople
10. St. Gregory Thaumaturgos: Neocaesarea
11. St. John Chrysostom: Constantinople
12. St. Ignatius Theophoros: Antioch
13. St. Cyril: Alexandria
14. St. Athanasius: Alexandria

While, therefore, Constantinople is a little better represented than the other sees, its preponderance is too slight to be meaningful. Nor can we discover any trace of a geographical distribution such as exists at St. Sophia, Ohrid, where the patriarchs of Constantinople occupy the central apse, while the popes of Rome are relegated to the south lateral apse.³³ The only significant observation we may make under this heading concerns the absence of any Roman pope (e.g., Clement or Sylvester) or, for that matter, any other prelate of the Western

³⁰ D. V. Ajnalov and E. K. Redin, "Kievskij Sofijskij Sobor," *Zapiski Imp. Russk. Arkheol. Obšč.*, N. S. IV (1890), 298ff.; Lazarev, *op.cit.*, 112ff.

³¹ R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris* (London, 1901), 55–60 and pls. 43, 44, 51, 52; E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), plan of Hosios Loukas and figs. 14–17, 26–31.

³² G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1899), 77, 87, 121, 146; Diez and Demus, *op.cit.*, plan of Daphni and figs. 70–71, 77–78.

³³ See A. Grabar, "Deux témoignages archéologiques sur l'autocéphalie d'une église: Prespa et Ochrid," *Zbornik radova Vizant. Inst.*, VIII/2 (1964), 166ff.; *idem*, "Les peintures murales dans le chœur de Ste-Sophie d'Ochrid," *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 257f.

Church: all the bishops listed above are Eastern ones. Note, however, that of the four Eastern patriarchates Jerusalem is not represented.

Secondly, we may observe that in the choice of bishops no special emphasis was laid on the suppression of Iconoclasm. In the room above the southwest vestibule of St. Sophia the portraits of the patriarchs Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus, and Methodius insistently call to mind the victorious struggle of the Orthodox Church against the Iconoclasts.³⁴ In the tympana, on the other hand, Methodius alone symbolizes the final liquidation of the heresy. We may conclude from this that at the time when the mosaics of the tympana were made the issue of Iconoclasm had already lost much of its urgency.

Another line of investigation is offered by the liturgical calendar of St. Sophia as we know it from the late ninth and subsequent centuries. The *synaxeis* or special commemorative services in honor of the Fathers represented in the tympana were celebrated in the following places:

1. Unknown
2. Anthimus (September 3): on the north side of the Golden Horn (πέραν εἰς τὸ κέρας).³⁵
3. Basil (January 1): in St. Sophia.³⁶
4. Gregory Nazianzen (January 25): in St. Sophia and also at the martyrion of St. Anastasia and the church of the Holy Apostles (where the Saint's relics were deposited by Constantine VII).³⁷
5. Dionysius (October 3): in St. Sophia.³⁸
6. Nicholas (December 6): in St. Sophia.³⁹
7. Gregory of Armenia (September 30): in the martyrion of St. Theodore near the Brazen Tetrapylon.⁴⁰
8. Ignatius the Younger (October 23): at the Satyros monastery, on the Asiatic side of the Propontis.⁴¹
9. Methodius (June 14): at the church of the Holy Apostles where his relics lay.⁴²
10. Gregory Thaumaturgos (November 17): in St. Sophia.⁴³
11. John Chrysostom (November 13): According to the typicon of the Great Church the procession started at St. Sophia and proceeded, by way of the Forum, to the church of the Holy Apostles where

³⁴ See P. A. Underwood, "A Preliminary Report on Some Unpublished Mosaics in H. Sophia," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 55 (1951), 367ff.; A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), 193f., 213f., 234; Mango, *Materials*, 44.

³⁵ *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, ed. J. Mateos, I, Orient. Christ. Anal., 165 (1962), 12. The topographical indication is lacking in Dmitrievskij's ed., *Opisanie liturgiĭeskikh rukopisej*, I (Kiev, 1895), 2, based on cod. Patm., 266. Cf. Delehaye, *Synaxarium eccl. Constant., Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Nov.* (Brussels, 1902), 9⁴⁰.

³⁶ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 170; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 366¹³.

³⁷ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 210; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 422²¹, 423⁸.

³⁸ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 58; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 102¹⁴.

³⁹ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 124; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 284⁷.

⁴⁰ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 50; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 94².

⁴¹ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 76; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 160⁹.

⁴² Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 314; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 750³.

⁴³ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 106; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 231⁸.

the service was held.⁴⁴ The synaxaria contain no topographical indication.⁴⁵ In the fourteenth century the commemorative liturgy, attended by the emperor, was celebrated in St. Sophia.⁴⁶

12. Ignatius Theophoros (December 20): in St. Sophia.⁴⁷

13-14. Cyril and Athanasius (January 18): in St. Sophia.⁴⁸

Thus, of the thirteen Fathers known, eight had their *synaxis* in St. Sophia. John Chrysostom was naturally associated with the church of the Holy Apostles where his relics lay;⁴⁹ but his inclusion in the series was obligatory and, therefore, raises no problem. We are left with four "special" cases, those of SS. Anthimus, Gregory of Armenia, Ignatius the Younger, and Methodius. We shall consider these later since they have an important bearing on the date of the mosaics under discussion.⁵⁰

Surprisingly enough, the order in which the bishops are arranged appears to be largely haphazard, except that the central position in each tympanum is assigned to a "major" Father, Chrysostom on the north and Gregory Nazianzen on the south.⁵¹ Basil is appropriately placed next to Gregory; the two Alexandrian patriarchs, Athanasius and Cyril, who shared the same feast day, are side by side, as are also the two most recent members of the group, Methodius and Ignatius the Younger. Proximity to the east end of the church does not seem to have been a determining factor.

ICONOGRAPHY

We shall begin with a few general observations which apply to all the figures of the Church Fathers.

Byzantine representations of bishops lend themselves to a classification based on costume.⁵² In the post-iconoclastic period the earliest group exhibits only three articles of clothing: *sticharion*, *phelonion* and *omophorion*. It is to this group that our mosaics belong. The *epitrachêlion*, a long embroidered scarf that was passed round the neck and reached down to the feet (it was worn under the chasuble) begins to appear in works of art from about the middle of the tenth century onward.⁵³ A further addition, observable toward the end of the tenth

⁴⁴ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 100.

⁴⁵ Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 217 ff.

⁴⁶ Ps.-Codinus, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 242 f.

⁴⁷ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 140; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 330₂₃.

⁴⁸ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 200; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 400₉.

⁴⁹ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 212; Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 425₂₈.

⁵⁰ *Infra*, p. 38 f.

⁵¹ Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and John Chrysostom were the "Three Hierarchs" *par excellence*. However, their joint commemoration (January 30) appears to have been first introduced in 1082: M. Gedeon, *Βυζαντινὸν ἑορτολόγιον* (Constantinople, 1899), 66.

⁵² See N. Thierry, "Le costume épiscopal byzantin du IX^e au XIII^e s. d'après les peintures datées," *Rev. ét. byz.*, 24 (1966), 308 ff. The latest work on Byzantine priestly vestments is T. Papas, *Studien zur Geschichte der Messgewänder im byzantinischen Ritus*, Miscell. Byzant. Monacensia, 3 (Munich, 1965).

⁵³ Papas, *op. cit.*, 156 ff.

century, is the *encheirion*, a rectangular piece of fabric attached to the tunic over the right thigh. This was later replaced by the *epigonation*, a stiff, lozenge-shaped article suspended over the right knee.

Another archaic feature of our mosaics is the use of haloes delimited by a colored ring decorated with pearls. This practice, common in the Early Christian period, disappears from monumental metropolitan painting toward the end of the ninth century,⁵⁴ while it tends to persist in the provinces (e.g., Cappadocia and Italy) and in the minor arts. Also significant is the omission of the epithet $\delta \ \alpha \gamma \iota \omicron \varsigma$ from the inscriptions: this, too, reflects Early Christian usage, and is shared by a few manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries,⁵⁵ and some of the earlier decorations in Cappadocia.⁵⁶

ST. IGNATIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Representations of the Patriarch Ignatius are very rare in Byzantine art, the one before us being the earliest and surely the most "authoritative." The head is that of an elderly man as shown by his white hair. The beardless, oval face is rather elongated, the nose decidedly long, the dark eyes big and staring. The complexion is fresh and, except for the wrinkles over the mouth, does not suggest advanced age: indeed, had the hair been dark, we would readily have accepted this as the portrait of a man of about forty. We must also bear in mind that the discoloration of the lips (which were originally red)⁵⁷ has made the expression more ascetic and lifeless than was intended.

That this representation is based on a genuine portrait made in the Saint's lifetime, is a natural enough assumption. There exists evidence from different periods of Byzantine history that portraits of patriarchs were set up in their lifetime to be occasionally suppressed when this or that patriarch was condemned for heresy.⁵⁸ It has furthermore been suggested that there existed in the Patriarchal Palace a kind of picture gallery which was gradually enriched by the portrait of each successive incumbent.⁵⁹ This may well have been so, although it cannot be proved with complete certainty,⁶⁰ nor can we say in which

⁵⁴ We may quote here the standing Virgin in the dome of St. Sophia, Thessalonica. Among illuminated manuscripts, we find pearled haloes in Paris, gr. 510, fol. 239, and Athens, National Library, cod. 123, fol. 87^v (inserted ninth-century miniature of St. Luke). For the latter, a provincial work, see A. Delatte, *Les manuscrits à miniatures et à ornements des bibliothèques d'Athènes*, Bibl. de la Fac. de Philos. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Liège, XXXIV (1926), 18ff. and pl. vii.

⁵⁵ Vat. gr. 699, Stavronikita 43, and Athen. 123 quoted in the previous note.

⁵⁶ Göreme, chapel 6: G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.* (note 25 *supra*), 96f.; St. Eustratius chapel, *ibid.*, 150f.

⁵⁷ See *supra*, p. 10.

⁵⁸ Here are some of the relevant texts: Theodorus lector, *Hist. eccl.* quoted by St. John Damascene, *De imag.*, III, PG 94, 1397D (images of Patriarch Macedonius, A.D. 342–46, 351–60); *ibid.*, 1400A (images of Flavian, A.D. 446–49, and Anatolius, A.D. 449–58); John of Ephesus, *Eccles. Hist.*, I, 36, trans. R. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1860), 71f. = ed. E. W. Brooks, *Corpus script. Christ. orient.*, *Script. syri.*, III, 3, *Versio* (1938), 32 (images of John III Scholasticus, A.D. 565–77, and Eutychius, A.D. 577–82); *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1886), I, 354 (portraits of the heretics Cyrus, Sergius, etc.). Cf. J. Kollwitz, "Zur Frühgeschichte der Bilderverehrung," *Röm. Quart.*, 48 (1953), 17f.

⁵⁹ A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 213f.

⁶⁰ If we are not mistaken, the only reference to such a series of portraits is made in 1200 by Antony of Novgorod: "In the gallery (*na polatakh*) are painted all the patriarchs and emperors, as many of them as there have been in Constantinople, and [it is indicated] which ones among them were heretics:"

part of the palace such a gallery, if it existed, was kept. In the case of two patriarchs who fought Iconoclasm, namely Tarasius and Nicephorus, detailed descriptions of their features, probably derived from painted portraits, have been preserved in written documents.⁶¹ At a later period an extensive series of both patriarchal and imperial portraits was set up in the narthex of St. George of the Mangana.⁶²

Ignatius is represented beardless in his mosaic portrait—correctly so since he was made a eunuch at the age of fourteen. The accuracy of his other features cannot be verified. Assuming, however, that our mosaic is based on a genuine portrait, it may be worth asking when such a portrait was made. Now, Ignatius was born in 799,⁶³ the son of the future emperor Michael I (811–13), and served as patriarch from 847 until 858 and once again from 867 until his death on October 23, 877. Our mosaic does not appear to us to depict a man in his seventies: we are more inclined to believe that Ignatius is represented here as he was soon after his appointment in 847, a man of about fifty.

The following other pictures of St. Ignatius are known to us:

1. Chalice in the Treasury of St. Mark's Venice, first half of tenth century. Bust of St. Ignatius, beardless.⁶⁴

2. Menologium of Basil II, cod. Vat. gr. 1613 (979–1025), p. 134. Ignatius, beardless, lying on his deathbed (fig. 45).

3. Same manuscript, p. 420. Ignatius with white hair and beard stands next to the Emperor Michael III at the Invention of the head of St. John the Baptist.⁶⁵

4. Dionysiou, cod. 587 (740), eleventh-century lectionary, fol. 148r.⁶⁶ Same scene as in No. 3, Ignatius bearded.

5. Cod. Vat. gr. 1156, eleventh-century lectionary, fol. 262v.⁶⁷ Small figure of St. Ignatius, bearded.

Kniga palomnikh, ed. Loparev, *Pravosl. Palest. Sbornik*, no. 51 (1899), 23. Antony uses the term *palaty* to denote not only the gallery, but the patriarchal residence which was on the same level. The extensive series of Constantinopolitan patriarchs in the *bema* of St. Sophia, Ohrid, may also be used as evidence for the existence of a "master set" in the capital. Cf. A. Grabar, "Deux témoignages" (as in note 33 *supra*), 167f.

⁶¹ These are found in the tract by "Elpius the Roman," ed. Chatzidakis (as in note 29 *supra*), 414. From this source the descriptions were taken over into the text of *synaxaria*: Delehay, *Synax. CP* (as in note 35 *supra*), 488, 725f.

⁶² The relevant texts are collected in C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *Zbornik radova Vizant. Inst.*, 6 (1960), 76f. The series is said to have included seventy-seven imperial portraits and about one hundred patriarchal ones.

⁶³ For the date, see J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), 14 note 2. This is based on the statement of the *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, 492B, that Ignatius was made a monk, on the accession of Leo V in 813, when he was fourteen years old. The same document (col. 560D) states, however, that Ignatius died in his eightieth year, which would place the date of his birth in 798.

⁶⁴ A. Grabar, "Un calice byzantin aux images de patriarches de Constantinople," *Δελτ. τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρ.*, 4 (1964/5), 45ff. and fig. 3.

⁶⁵ *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, II = *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, VIII (Turin, 1907), 134, 420. For the terminal dates of the manuscript, see I. Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 245 note 2, 272 note 91.

⁶⁶ See K. Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," in *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, ed. M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren (Chicago, 1950), 173 and pl. xxxii.

⁶⁷ For a description of the manuscript, see M. Bonicatti, "Per una introduzione alla cultura medio-bizantina di Costantinopoli," *Riv. dell' Ist. Naz. d'Archeol.*, N.S. 9 (1960), 255f. note 32.

6. St. Nicholas "of the Roof," near Kakopetria, Cyprus, fresco in prothesis (late eleventh century?). Bust of Ignatius, beardless, dark hair (fig. 46).⁶⁸

7. Chronicle of Skylitzes, cod. Matrit. gr. Vit. 26-2 (late thirteenth century), fol. 76r. Ignatius, bearded, receives the news of his appointment as patriarch.⁶⁹

The representations listed above are of some interest for assessing the procedures of Byzantine painters. An iconographic type of St. Ignatius, distinguished by the lack of a beard and probably by white hair, did exist, but it was so seldom used that very few painters could have known of it. The Kakopetria artist must have been familiar with it, but he probably interpreted the absence of a beard as an indication of youth, and so endowed Ignatius with dark hair. Other painters were less scrupulous and simply created a standard, white-bearded bishop type. It is particularly interesting that both the beardless and bearded variants should occur in the same manuscript, the Menologium of Basil II, although, admittedly, the two miniatures in question are not by the same painter.⁷⁰

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

The iconography of this very popular Saint has been discussed at length by Otto Demus;⁷¹ so there is no need for us to go over the same ground again. Demus finds that there existed three distinct types of Chrysostom: 1. The "iconic," which is that of a relatively young man having an oval face and a sparse beard, lacking any strongly individual traits. This is the earliest recorded type and is found in frescoes of the seventh and eighth centuries in S. Maria Antiqua, Rome.⁷² 2. The "ascetic," which is the dominant type in Byzantine art from the eleventh century onward. Here Chrysostom is almost bald and has a short beard often divided into two points. He has a high bulbous forehead, an aquiline nose, sunken eyes, emaciated cheeks, and a pointed chin. 3. The "humanistic" type represented by our mosaic, the tenth-century reliquary of the True Cross from the treasury of the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome (fig. 50),⁷³ and the fresco in the parecclesion of the Kariye Camii.⁷⁴ Here St. John is not bald, though his hair is shown as receding from his high forehead, and his features are more masculine than those of the "ascetic" type.

Iconographically, the closest parallel to our mosaic is provided by the aforementioned reliquary of the Sancta Sanctorum. The proportions of the figure are a little different in that the mosaic shows a massive, broad-shouldered body

⁶⁸ M. Sacopoulo, "Deux effigies inédites de patriarches constantinopolitains," *CahArch.*, 17 (1967), 193ff. and fig. 5.

⁶⁹ S. Cirac Estopañan, *Skylitzes Matritensis*, I (Barcelona-Madrid, 1965), 287.

⁷⁰ The one on p. 134 is signed by George; that on p. 420 by Nestor.

⁷¹ "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP*, 14 (1960), 110ff.

⁷² As an additional example of this type we may quote an early icon on Mount Sinai: G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai* (Athens, 1958), I, fig. 21 and color plate; II, 36ff. (attributed to seventh or eighth century). Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, 161, attributes this icon to the ninth century.

⁷³ For the relevant bibliography, see Lazarev, *op.cit.* (note 3 *supra*), 172 note 44.

⁷⁴ P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, Bollingen Series, LXX (New York, 1966), I, 244ff.; III, pls. 478, 482.

terminating in a small head, while the reliquary depicts an elongated and rather narrow body; the two heads are, on the other hand, practically identical.

It may be of interest to quote here the description of Chrysostom given by "Ulpian the Roman," an author writing between *ca.* 850 and 950, hence more or less contemporary with our mosaic:

"John of Antioch was a man of very short stature who carried a large head on his shoulders, extremely thin, having a long nose, wide nostrils, and a very pale, whitish complexion. The sockets of his eyes were hollow and contained big eyeballs which sometimes glinted pleasantly, although the rest of his expression was that of a man in grief. He had a bald (ψιλός), high forehead marked with many wrinkles. His ears were big, his beard short and very sparse, of a light color due to white hairs (ὑπὸ πολλοαῖς ταῖς θριξίν ἐξανθῶν)." ⁷⁵

This description is more applicable to the "ascetic" than to the "humanistic" type. It is interesting, too, that our mosaic should go counter to the text, for, instead of representing a small body with a disproportionately big head, it shows a big body with a small head. It may be said, however, that in Byzantine art the size and proportions of human figures were a factor of style, not of iconography.

ST. IGNATIUS THEOPHOROS

Ignatius Theophoros,⁷⁶ third bishop of Antioch (after Peter and Evodius), was martyred in Rome in the reign of Trajan (98–117).⁷⁷ There could thus have been no authentic data for his portrait which, in Byzantine art, is a purely conventional one: he is represented as an old man with white hair and a medium long beard usually terminating in a sharp point. These characteristics remain fairly constant, except that in the Palaeologan period the beard grows longer, while the hair at times becomes less abundant. The only deviant representation known to us is the fresco in the south gallery of St. Sophia at Kiev, where the hair and beard are dark (fig. 47). Ignatius was not portrayed very frequently, but there are enough pictures of him to establish a definite iconographic tradition.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Ed. Chatzidakis *op. cit.* (note 29 *supra*), 413.

⁷⁶ This epithet occurs in the proems of the Epistles of Ignatius, PG 5, 644, 661, 673, etc. On its interpretation, see, e.g., G. Bareille, art. "Ignace d'Antioche," *Dict. de théol. cath.*, VII/1 (1930), 685.

⁷⁷ What little is known of his career is summarized by G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961), 292ff. For the date of Ignatius' martyrdom, see the discussion by Bishop Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, pt. II, vol. II, 2nd ed. (London, 1889), 435ff.

⁷⁸ The following list does not claim to be exhaustive:

1. Cod. Paris, gr. 923 (ninth century), fols. 73v, 119v, 151r, 191v, 195v, 216r, 278r, 286v, 308v, 373r. Bust within circular medallion.

2. Kılıçlar Kilise, Göreme (tenth century), arch between southeast column and bema. Half-figure. Jerphanion, *op. cit.* (note 25 *supra*), 209 (not illustrated); partially visible in M. Restle, *op. cit.* (note 13 *supra*), pl. 270.

3. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613 (979–1025), p. 258. Martyrdom. Facsimile ed. as in note 65 *supra*.

4. Hosios Loukas (early eleventh century), arch between naos and prothesis. Full figure, wavy hair parted in the middle. Diez and Demus, *op. cit.* (note 31 *supra*), fig. 29 (mislabelled).

5. British Museum, cod. Add. 19352, Psalter (A.D. 1066), fol. 127r. Martyrdom. S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, II (Paris, 1970), 47, 94f. and fig. 205.

ORNAMENT AND STYLE

The repertory of ornament exhibited by the mosaics of St. Sophia would deserve a special study. Without going too far afield, we should like to offer a few observations on the motifs we have encountered in the tympana, namely the diamond, the rosette, the tree, and the winged palmette. There can be little doubt of their sixth-century date since they recur in other parts of the mosaic decoration which we have reason to ascribe to Justinian's reign. In fact, there is a remarkable consistency of ornamental vocabulary throughout the church, the same basic forms being used, over and over again, in various combinations, not only in the mosaics, but also in the carving, the metalwork, and in the *opus sectile*.

6. Cod. Vat. gr. 1156, Lectionary (eleventh century) fols. 272r, 295v. Tiny standing figure. Cf. note 61 *supra*.
7. Cod. Vat. gr. 372, Barberini Psalter (late eleventh century), fol. 156v. Martyrdom, similar to that in the London Psalter. M. Sacopoulo, *op.cit.* (as in note 68 *supra*), 195 and fig. 4.
8. St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, arch connecting northeast pillar to prothesis. Half-figure (eleventh century?). A. Papageorghiou, *Masterpieces of Byzantine Art of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1965), pl. vii. 2; M. Sacopoulo, *op.cit.*, 194 and fig. 1. Second representation in same church on south side of southwest pier (twelfth century). Papageorghiou, *op.cit.*, pl. vii. 3.
9. Saklı Kilise, Göreme (eleventh century) north pier. Half-figure in orant position, short beard. L. Budde, *Göreme* (Düsseldorf, 1958), pl. 83.
10. Kiev, St. Sophia, outer south aisle, second bay from west. Half-figure. See *Drevnosti Rossijskago Gosudarstva. Kievskij Sofijskij Sobor* (St. Petersburg, 1871), fasc. II–III, pl. 13. 14.
11. Ayvalı Köy, Cappadocia (eleventh century?), straight hair, pointed beard. N. Thierry, "Un style byzantin schématique en Cappadoce," *Journal des savants* (Jan.–March 1968), 55, fig. 11.
12. Mount Latmos, cave of St. Paul (eleventh or twelfth century). Figure largely destroyed. Th. Wiegand, *Der Latmos = Milet, III/1* (Berlin, 1913), 205.
13. Asinou, apse (A.D. 1106). Full figure. M. Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106* (Brussels, 1966), 83f. and pl. xxixd (detail).
14. Cod. Lavra 427 (Δ 51), Menologium (twelfth century), fol. 87v. Martyrdom. On the manuscript, see Spyridon and S. Eustratiades, *Cat. of the Greek Manuscripts of the Laura on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), 61; A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand d. hagiogr. und homil. Literatur d. griech. Kirche*, II = Texte und Untersuchungen, 51 (1937), 486.
15. Spas Neredica (1199), south side of bema. Bust (?) in circular medallion above door leading from apse into diaconicon. For position, see V. K. Mjasoedov, *Freski Spasa-Neredicy* (Leningrad, 1925), chart II, no. 56 (not illustrated).
16. Oropos (Boetia), St. George (early thirteenth century), apse. Frescoes now in the Byzantine Museum, Athens. Full figure, pointed beard. Chatzidakis, *op.cit.* (note 23 *supra*), 88f. and pl. 34.
17. Sopočani (ca. 1265), south wall of bema. Full figure, beard somewhat longer than in previous monuments. G. Millet and A. Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie*, II (Paris, 1957), pls. 3.4, 17.2.
18. Čučer, Sv. Nikita (ca. 1307), southeast pillar of bema. Long beard terminating in two points. *Ibid.*, III (1962), pl. 33. 2 (detail).
19. Studenica, SS. Joachim and Anna (1313–14), south side of bema. Full figure similar to No. 18. V. Petković, *Manastir Studenica* (Belgrade, 1924), 68f. and fig. 90.
20. Staro Nagoričino, St. George (1318), south wall of bema. Full figure, long beard. Millet and Frolow, *op.cit.*, III, pls. 71.2, 77.4.
21. Gračanica (ca. 1320), east wall of naos. Full figure. V. Petković, *La peinture serbe du Moyen Age*, II (Belgrade, 1934), pl. LXXIV. 2.
22. Mount Athos, Protaton (early fourteenth century), bema. G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos* (Paris, 1927), pl. 43.1.
23. Kastoria, Taxiarches Metropoleos (1356), southeast pillar. Full figure, bulbous forehead, pointed beard, receding hair. S. Pelekanides, *Καστορία*, I (Thessaloniki, 1953), pl. 134a.
24. Kastoria, St. Athanasios *tou Mouzaki* (1385), north side of bema. Bust in circular medallion. Long, pointed beard, head nearly bald. *Ibid.*, pl. 144a.
25. Tirnovo, SS. Peter and Paul (fifteenth century), diaconicon. A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), 272.
26. Mount Athos, Lavra, trapeza (1512). Martyrdom. Millet, *op.cit.*, pl. 143.2.

1. *The diamond and rosette.* These two alternating motifs are found in the bema arch (Phase I),⁷⁹ the exedra windows,⁸⁰ and the lower part of the ribs of the dome. A greatly simplified version of the same design recurs in the borders of the two square porphyry panels on the west wall of the nave, above the imperial door,⁸¹ and of marble panels in the apse (fig. 57). Another variant was obtained by detaching the X from the rosette and placing the former element in alternation with a diamond: this we find in the ribs of the dome, in the border of the circular medallion at the center of the dome,⁸² in the apse windows,⁸³ in the west gallery (now destroyed),⁸⁴ and even in the surrounds of the mosaic crosses in the west bay of the south aisle (fig. 51). It is worth observing that practically the same design occurs in the earliest phase, which may be of the sixth or seventh century,⁸⁵ of the mosaics of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea (fig. 52), and in the room above the southwest ramp of St. Sophia whose mosaics probably date from the last third of the sixth century (fig. 53).⁸⁶ The two elements we have been discussing, namely the diamond and the rosette, also occur in combination with other motifs in various parts of St. Sophia. The diamond with circular forms attached to each side occurs in the mosaics of both the south and north galleries (figs. 55, 56) and in the vault of the southwest vestibule (fig. 58). In the mosaic of the archangel Gabriel in the bema arch a closely related design also appears as a shoulder patch and as an embroidered roundel attached to the lower hem of the tunic. The rosette of four bilobed leaves recurs in the vaults of the aisles; in the barrel vault linking the southwest secondary pier with the west wall of the *naos*; on the carved beam casings of the west gallery (fig. 54),⁸⁷ on the bronze doors leading from the outer into the inner narthex (fig. 61), etc. Going one step further, we may observe that the constituent parts of the two motifs under consideration are echoed elsewhere in St. Sophia: the stepped or crenellated shape that is used as a center filling of the diamonds reappears, e.g., in the barrel vault of the southwest secondary pier (fig. 59); the trilobed termination of the X that overlays the rosette is found in a different context in the vaults of the aisles and of the narthex (fig. 60), etc.

⁷⁹ Mango and Hawkins, "Apse Mosaics" (as in note 2 *supra*), figs. 51, 53–55.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fig. 39.

⁸¹ P. A. Underwood, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1957–1959," *DOP*, 14 (1960), 208.

⁸² Mango, *Materials* (as in note 5 *supra*), fig. 118.

⁸³ Mango and Hawkins, "Apse Mosaics," figs. 23, 25.

⁸⁴ Mango, *Materials*, figs. 42, 43.

⁸⁵ For a discussion of the relevant literature, see E. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," *Berichte zum XI. Intern. Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), 13f. An almost identical design forms the border of the recently published Samson mosaic at Mopsuestia (fifth/sixth century): L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien* (Recklinghausen, 1969), fig. 147ff. A related design recurs also at the base of the semidome at Kiti (seventh century?), reproduced, e.g., by A. Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces of the Byzantine Art of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1965), pls. I, III.

⁸⁶ See the summary report on these mosaics by P. A. Underwood, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1954," *DOP*, 9/10 (1956), 292f. and figs. 107, 108. We are inclined to attribute the construction and decoration of this room to the Patriarch John III Scholasticus (567–77) for reasons which we hope to expound on another occasion.

⁸⁷ We are not convinced by the ninth-century date advocated for these beam casings by C. D. Sheppard, "A Radiocarbon Date for the Wooden Tie Beams in the West Gallery of St. Sophia, Istanbul," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 237ff.

It would be futile to discuss the ultimate "origin" of the above two motifs, but it may be worth pointing out that the rosette consisting of four bilobed leaves divided by four spokes is particularly common in Egyptian textiles⁸⁸ and in Sasanian art;⁸⁹ that it was revived in the Byzantine ornamental repertory of the tenth century, e.g., at the monastery of Lips⁹⁰ (fig. 62) and is also found at a later date.⁹¹

2. *The Tree*. Strange as this motif may appear at first sight, it recurs as a finial, i.e., minus the trunk, in the vault mosaics of the narthex (fig. 60). Trees of the same general shape, but greatly elaborated, are found in the Dome of the Rock, among the mosaics of the intermediary octagon.⁹² As for the polychrome chevron pattern, it is of very ancient Near Eastern origin. Closer to the period that concerns us, we may quote a number of Egyptian⁹³ and Sasanian⁹⁴ textiles.

3. *The Winged Palmette*. This, too, has parallels in St. Sophia, namely in the vault mosaics of the narthex (fig. 60) and the carved beam-box of the central arch of the west gallery (fig. 54). While not of exclusively Sasanian origin, as has been claimed by Strzygowski, the winged motif has a decidedly Near Eastern character.⁹⁵ A good parallel is provided by a capital of the main colonnaded street at 'Anjar in Lebanon (fig. 63).⁹⁶

The above discussion has shown, we hope, that the sixth-century decoration of St. Sophia is not only consistent within itself, but that it exhibits definite

⁸⁸ See, e.g., A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from the Burying-Grounds in Egypt*, I (London, 1920), pl. v, Nos. 19, 61; pl. xi, No. 30; pl. xxiv, No. 177; II (1921), pl. xxix, No. 581; III (1922), pl. xxxii, No. 842; O. Wulff and W. F. Volbach, *Spätantike und koptische Stoffe* (Berlin, 1926), pls. 7, 13, 18, 44, 45, etc.; P. du Bourguet, Musée National du Louvre: *Catalogue des étoffes coptes*, I (Paris, 1964), Nos. A. 19, B. 27, D. 138, 163–64, E. 92, 98–9, 102, 119, F 36. The motif is less common in the Antioch mosaic pavements and in the Ravenna mosaics, where it appears at a small scale on the triumphal arch of S. Vitale and in the apse of S. Apollinare in Classe: F. W. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden-Baden, 1958), pls. 334–39, 394, 396, 398, 400. Cf. also the tunic of the second lady to the right of Theodora in the choir of S. Vitale, *ibid.*, pl. 361. The difference between the ornamental vocabulary of St. Sophia and that of the Ravennate churches is worth emphasizing.

⁸⁹ See, e.g., A. U. Pope (ed.), *A Survey of Persian Art*, IV (Oxford, 1938), pls. 201C (silk twill in Vatican Museum), 203 (cup of Khusrav I), 230B (silver plate in Hermitage), 248, A, F, H (jewelry). A rosette of similar conception, except for being divided by eight instead of four spokes, occurs at Khirbat al Mafjar, among the paintings of the "bath" and in apse V of the same building: R. W. Hamilton and O. Grabar, *Khirbat al Mafjar* (Oxford, 1950), 321 (where an Eastern origin is claimed for this motif) and pl. LXXXVI. Cf. also pls. LXXIX, XCI (floor mosaics).

⁹⁰ A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople* (Paris, 1963), 121, has rightly pointed out that the sculptures of the monastery of Lips reproduce certain Oriental motifs that had already entered Byzantine art in the sixth century. For the rosette that concerns us here, cf. *ibid.*, pl. XLIII. 2 (carved slab from St. Gregory at Thebes) and pl. XLIV. 2 (carved entablature from Sardis, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum). Cf. also the rosette directly underneath the mosaic of the Archangel Gabriel in the bema arch, which bears a strong resemblance to the examples from Khirbat al Mafjar quoted in the previous note.

⁹¹ E.g., the Bamberg textile of the eleventh century. See A. Grabar, "La soie byzantine de l'évêque Gunther à la cathédrale de Bamberg," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd Ser., 7 (1956), 14, fig. 8.

⁹² K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I (Oxford, 1932), pls. 5.2, 6, 7.2. For the shape of the tree, cf. also the Egyptian wall-hanging in the Hermitage, No. 11660: L. Kybalová, *Koptische Stoffe* (Prague, 1967), 84.

⁹³ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, III, pl. XXI, No. 798; pl. XXIII, No. 807; pl. XXIV, No. 795; Wulff and Volbach, *op. cit.*, pl. 134 (all on leaves).

⁹⁴ Esp. the silk in the Vatican Museum quoted in note 89 *supra*.

⁹⁵ See discussion by M. van Berchem in Creswell, *op. cit.*, 198ff.

⁹⁶ Date uncertain. On the site, see M. Chehab, "The Umayyad Palace at 'Anjar," *Ars Orientalis*, 5 (1963), 17ff.

Near Eastern characteristics which ought to be further explored in a more comprehensive treatment of this subject, especially in relation to the newly discovered carvings of the church of St. Polyeuctos. There are, of course, in St. Sophia other decorative motifs of a more conservative, "Hellenistic" character, such as the acanthus rinceau and the "Greek key," but these are used less extensively than the "Eastern" variety.

We may now turn our attention to the figural mosaics of the tympana.

In considering those works of painting and mosaic that may be attributed to metropolitan workshops of the period *ca.* 850–950, it is difficult to arrange them in an evolutionary sequence with regard to style. To some extent this may be due to the small number of works preserved and the fact that an even smaller number of them can be dated with any accuracy by other than stylistic criteria; it may be, on the other hand, that the difficulty in question correctly reflects an unsettled artistic situation. What happened, in our estimation, is not that the tradition of figural painting had to be entirely reestablished after 843—indeed, we have literary evidence that the palace buildings of the Emperor Theophilus contained figural mosaics of a secular nature,⁹⁷ and there was, of course, a good deal of small-scale religious painting done, more or less, *sub rosa*; the important factor, we believe, is that, starting in the 850's and 860's, the number of commissions for religious painting far outran the artistic manpower available. The imperial policy of *renovatio* entailed the "rejuvenation," hence also the redecoration after Iconoclasm, of a great many earlier churches, some of them very big,⁹⁸ not to speak of the new churches and new palaces that were being built at the time.

This intense activity on a scale unprecedented since the days of Justinian may explain in part both the hasty execution of the mosaics and paintings made in the second half of the ninth century and the lack of stylistic unity they exhibit. The best we can do under the circumstances is to isolate certain groups of related monuments.

The chief stylistic traits exhibited by the mosaics of the Church Fathers are to our minds, the following. First, a limited range of colors of a generally pale and opaque tonality. Second, the figures seem sturdily built: the heads, it is true, are rather too small for the bodies, but the hands are massive. Without being fully rounded, the Fathers give, nevertheless, the impression of standing four square on the ground. With regard to drapery, there are considerable variations between the three complete figures. Chrysostom's is the simplest, consisting as it does of blocks of white and grey: dark lines are used rather sparingly, mostly for contours. In the case of Ignatius the Younger there is greater relief (note the prominence given to the right knee) due to a stronger contrast between areas of light and shadow. In the figure of Ignatius Theophoros dark lines—often short, straight lines terminating in hooks⁹⁹—are particularly pro-

⁹⁷ Theophanes Cont., ed. Bonn, 143, 145.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 322 ff. This text lists thirty-one churches that were renovated by Basil I in Constantinople and its environs, and eight that were built *de novo*, all the latter being in the imperial palace.

⁹⁹ Also present in the mosaics of the apse and bema arch, the mosaic above the imperial door, and generally very common in Byzantine painting of the ninth and tenth centuries.

minent. Finally, in the heads the disposition of tesserae is relatively loose and much use is made of green shadows (though not in the hands).

In trying to relate the figures of the Fathers to other works of monumental painting, we discover the most pertinent material in St. Sophia itself, namely in the panel above the imperial door¹⁰⁰ and the portrait of the Emperor Alexander. The resemblance between these works, which are of course quite different in subject matter, has to do with a quality of robustness, not devoid of a little *gaucherie*, and the nature of the execution which is uneven, loose, and anything but pedantic. In the mosaic of the imperial door we may note its light tonality, as in the case of the Fathers, the heavy proportions of the figures, the large hands. Christ's garments, it is true, are much fussier, more crumpled than those of the Fathers, but they are rendered in the same way, by means of contrasting patches of white and grey marble, crisscrossed by thin dark lines, often straight lines ending in hooks. Now, the date of the imperial door mosaic remains somewhat imprecise: in spite of prolonged discussion, we are still unable to say whether the prostrate emperor is Basil I or Leo VI.¹⁰¹ As for Alexander's portrait, its attribution to the years 912/13¹⁰² is by no means mandatory in view of the fact that Alexander was made co-emperor as early as 879. Since he is represented on the mosaic as a bearded man who does not look much younger than twenty-five, it follows that the mosaic could have been made any time between *ca.* 895 and 913 (Alexander was born in 870).¹⁰³ In short, both the imperial door and Alexander mosaics might be fitted into the last two decades of the ninth century.

Other mosaics of St. Sophia that may be attributed to a slightly earlier period show less contact with those of the Fathers: we are referring, on the one hand, to the highly refined mosaics of the apse which we have dated to the year 867,¹⁰⁴ on the other, to the as yet imperfectly studied mosaics of the Room above the southwest vestibule. The latter are comparatively crude: the figures are clumsy, they are heavily outlined, the transitions from light to shadow are too abrupt. Yet it is easy to imagine how their style might have led to that of the Fathers. We reproduce here the half-figure of the Patriarch Nicephorus (fig. 44) and invite comparison with that of Ignatius Theophoros (fig. 29). Now, the mosaics of the room above the southwest vestibule, judging by the pointed references they contain to the iconoclastic controversy, should probably be dated to the fifties or sixties of the ninth century—in any case, somewhat later than the death of Methodius (847), who was represented there; in other words, they must be nearly contemporary with the mosaics of the apse. The co-existence at the same time of two such different styles is deserving of attention.

In the field of manuscript illumination the closest parallel to the mosaics of the Church Fathers is provided by cod. Paris gr. 510, especially on folios 43^v

¹⁰⁰ Cf. E. J. W. Hawkins, "Further Observations on the Narthex Mosaic in St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP*, 22 (1968), 151ff.

¹⁰¹ The evidence is summarized in Mango, *Materials* (as in note 5 *supra*), 96f.

¹⁰² Underwood and Hawkins, "The Portrait of the Emperor Alexander" (as in note 6 *supra*), 193.

¹⁰³ R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Logothete' . . .," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 98.

¹⁰⁴ Mango and Hawkins, "Apse Mosaics" (as in note 2 *supra*), 142ff.

(St. Gregory Nazianzen, his father and other saints: fig. 48) and 72 (Sts. Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen: fig. 49). This comparison has already been made by others¹⁰⁵ and needs, therefore, no elaboration. The Paris manuscript has been dated by its latest investigator to 880–83,¹⁰⁶ but we can be slightly more precise by narrowing the time span to 880–82.¹⁰⁷

DATING

With regard to the mosaics of Phase 1, it may be asked whether they should be attributed to the original construction of 532–37 or to the rebuilding of 558–63. At present we do not possess any clear evidence for resolving this question, but there is one consideration that deserves to be set down. In describing the rebuilding, Agathias tells us (*Hist.*, V.9.2–5) that Isidore the Younger “left the east and west arches as they were in their former places,” whereas he “gradually increased” the width of the north and south arches so as to bring their crowns closer together, thus forming a nearly square base for the dome. The exposed soffits of the north and south arches do in fact show a progressive widening from about 0.85 m. at the springing to about 1.40 m. at the crown.¹⁰⁸ We do not, however, know what portion of these arches was rebuilt. The profile of the north arch shows a jog at a height of about 8.35 m. above the cornice, and if this marks the point of juncture between the original construction and the rebuilding, then the patches of Phase 1 mosaic that are at present exposed fall well within the former area.

Turning next to the mosaics of the Fathers, we have seen that stylistic considerations link them to a small group of metropolitan monuments dating from *ca.* 880–900. Epigraphy, though not susceptible to great chronological precision, offers no contrary evidence. The inscriptions on the mosaics are in uncial letters imitating the *ductus* of a stub pen, and are entirely appropriate to the ninth century. We have to look no further than fols. B^r and C^v of cod. Paris. gr. 510 to find an alphabet that, if not absolutely identical,¹⁰⁹ is nevertheless extremely close to that of our mosaics. We may also mention for comparison the colophon of cod. Paris. gr. 1470 (A.D. 890),¹¹⁰ and the headings of cod. Laurent. Plut. 28.26 (A.D. 886–911).¹¹¹ The custom of placing a double dot over initial *iotas* is current in these manuscripts as well as in inscriptions of the same period. For the ligature NN, we may quote at random an example of the early eighth century at S. Maria Antiqua, Rome.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ S. Der Nersessian, “Les portraits de Grégoire l’Illuminateur dans l’art byzantin,” *Byzantion*, 36 (1967), 387; V. Lazarev, *Storia* (as in note 3 *supra*), 144.

¹⁰⁶ S. Der Nersessian, “The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus . . .,” *DOP*, 16 (1962), 197.

¹⁰⁷ Since it evidently predates the marriage of Leo VI to Theophano which took place in 882: Jenkins, *op.cit.*, 101.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. K. J. Conant, “The First Dome of St. Sophia,” *Bull. of the Byz. Institute*, 1 (1946), 75.

¹⁰⁹ There are slight differences in the shape of the *alpha* and the *mu*; furthermore the *epsilon* and *omicron* are somewhat rounder in the mosaics than in the manuscript.

¹¹⁰ K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, IV/1 (Boston, 1935), pl. 228.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, X (1939), pl. 674.

¹¹² V. Federici in W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique* (Rome, 1911), p. 414, fig. 324.

Turning next to historical considerations, we must account in the first instance for the figuration of the patriarchs Methodius and Ignatius, and for the absence of any particular emphasis on the suppression of Iconoclasm. The death of Ignatius (23 October 877) provides a firm *terminus post quem* for the execution of our mosaics since, as we have seen, this Patriarch's portrait is not a later insertion, but is contemporary with the others. At what date, then, after 877 would it have been especially opportune to represent Methodius and Ignatius side by side and on a par with the great doctors of the Orthodox Church? It was shown not long ago that Ignatius was canonized almost immediately after his death by his life-long opponent Photius, i.e., between 877 and 886,¹¹³ a remarkable gesture, whether it was dictated by political motives or a genuine desire for reconciliation. If Photius went that far, he could have gone a little further by putting up the portrait of Ignatius in St. Sophia. As for Methodius, there is every reason to suppose that his memory was held in high esteem in the circle of Photius; indeed, the latter is believed to be the author of a *sticheron* that was recited at Methodius's funeral.¹¹⁴ One might even discern in the juxtaposition of Methodius, a "broad churchman," and the rigorist Ignatius an attempt to balance the respective representatives of the two ecclesiastical factions whose conflict lasted throughout the ninth century. Finally, as to the issue of Iconoclasm, we know that it dragged on until the Council of 869/70 which condemned the obscure Theodore Crithinus,¹¹⁵ but there is no evidence that it remained alive thereafter. In short, the second patriarchate of Photius (877–86) would be a possible period for the execution of our mosaics.

The inclusion of St. Gregory the Illuminator in the series of the Fathers points in the same direction. Professor S. Der Nersessian has plausibly argued that the choice of the Armenian national Saint is explained by the myth of the Arsacid origin of Basil I,¹¹⁶ a myth that was allegedly fabricated by Photius himself shortly before 877, and which contributed to his second elevation to the patriarchal throne.¹¹⁷ The same scholar has also drawn attention to Photius' letter addressed to the catholicos Zacharias in which the Patriarch argues that the Fathers of the Church all came from Greek lands and that their relics had found a resting place in Constantinople; namely Basil, Gregory Thaumaturgos, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Illuminator (who was educated at Caesarea), John Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Justin, Irenaeus, Ambrose (*sic*), Dionysius, Proclus (patriarch of Constantinople), Athanasius, the

¹¹³ F. Dvornik, "The Patriarch Photius in the Light of Recent Research," *Berichte zum XI. Internat. Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), 55 and note 189.

¹¹⁴ PG 102, 576–77. Cf. H. Ahrweiler, "Sur la carrière de Photius avant son patriarcat," *BZ*, 58 (1965), 350. Furthermore, it was Gregory Asbestas, one of Photius' staunchest supporters, who wrote the *Vita* of Methodius. See I. Andreades in *Θεολογία*, XI (1933), 262ff. Cf. F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge, 1948), 16 note 1; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzant. Reich* (Munich, 1959), 558. The relation of the *Vita* written by Asbestas to that published in PG 100, 1244–61, is not entirely clear.

¹¹⁵ See J. Gouillard, "Deux figures mal connues du second iconoclisme," *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 387ff.

¹¹⁶ See article quoted in note 105 *supra*.

¹¹⁷ Nicetas Paphlago, *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, 565.

Cyrils.¹¹⁸ There is considerable correspondence between this list and the Fathers represented in St. Sophia.

It is rather more difficult to find a good reason for the presence of St. Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia and a martyr of Diocletian's persecution. His Metaphrastic *passio* is a text of routine character,¹¹⁹ and provides no useful clue. Anthimus had a martyrdom at Nicomedia which was rebuilt after an earthquake in the reign of Theodosius II,¹²⁰ and a church at Constantinople erected by Justinian,¹²¹ as well as a chapel attached to the monastery of the Chora.¹²² He does not appear ever to have been a very popular saint. It may be recalled, however, that one of Photius' closest associates was the chartophylax George, whom he promoted to the metropolitan see of Nicomedia,¹²³ and that this George is credited with having composed a canon in honor of St Anthimus.¹²⁴ It may be for this reason that the patron saint of Nicodemia was pictured in St. Sophia.

In themselves, the above arguments are not perhaps sufficiently compelling for attributing the series of Church Fathers to the second patriarchate of Photius. The inclusion of Ignatius would be equally explicable after the downfall of Photius in 886, and we happen to know that the Patriarch Euthymius (907–12) was particularly devoted to Ignatius' memory.¹²⁵ Besides, the myth of the Arsacid origin of the Macedonian dynasty was certainly kept alive in the reign of Leo VI (886–912).¹²⁶ There is, however, another piece of evidence to be considered, namely, the metrical inscriptions that were once inscribed on both tympana, and of which only a few words were found during the Fossati repairs of 1847–49.¹²⁷ The complete text, discovered in three manuscripts by S. G. Mercati,¹²⁸ ran as follows:

1. South tympanum, above upper row of windows:

Πατὴρ ἀκράτου υἱὲ ἀκράτε, τῷδε σὺ οἶκῳ,
 ὄμματι καλῷ τῶν περάτων, χρόνος ἡγάγε πῆμα·
 ἡ θεραπεία τὴν θεραπείαν ψυχῆς οἶσει.

2. South tympanum, between the two rows of windows:

Σοὶ τῷ κρατοῦντι πάντα νεύματος κράτει
 προαίρεσιν προσῆξα σῶζειν τὸν δόμον·
 σοῦ τοῦτο δῶρον· ἐπιμονάς μοι προσδίδου.

¹¹⁸ Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravosl. Palestinskij Sbornik*, No. 31 (1892), 234 (Russian translation).

¹¹⁹ PG 115, 172ff.

¹²⁰ Malalas, ed. Bonn, 363.

¹²¹ R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, I/3 (Paris, 1953), 37f.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 38. To Janin's references add Ch. Loparev, *De S. Theodoro monacho hegumenoque Chorensi* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 9f.

¹²³ See Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 542f.

¹²⁴ S. Eustratiades, 'Ἀγιολόγιον τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας (Athens, ca. 1950), 42, on the basis of Paris gr. 1619, fol. 4v. Not mentioned by C. Emereau, "Hymnographi byzantini," *Echos d'Orient*, 22 (1923), 426, nor by P. N. Trempelas, 'Εκλογὴ ἑλληνικῆς Ὁρθοδόξου ὑμνογραφίας (Athens, 1949), 252f.

¹²⁵ See Mango, *Materials* (as in note 5 *supra*), 57 note 144.

¹²⁶ It is mentioned in Leo VI's Funeral Oration on Basil I: A. Vogt and I. Hausherr, "Oraison funèbre de Basile I," *Orient. Christ.*, 26. 1 (1932), 44.

¹²⁷ Mango, *Materials*, 63ff.

¹²⁸ "Sulle iscrizioni di Santa Sofia," *Bessarione*, 26 (1922), 206ff.

3. North tympanum, above upper row of windows:

Ἔργον ἀμίμητον χρόνος ἠπείλησεν λύσειν.
εἶργεται ἡμετέρης διὰ φροντίδος· ἀλλὰ ἀνοιξον
οἶκον, ἄναξ ὕψιστε, ὅπου χρόνος οὐκ ἐγγίζει.

4. North tympanum, between the two rows of windows:

Ἀψῖδι χειρῶν ὡς θρόνῳ τῶν σῶν κάθη·
πλήν οἶκος οὗτος σός· πονοῦντι δὲ χρόνῳ
ἔδωκα χεῖρα τὴν κραταιάν· ἀντίδος.

These may be rendered as follows: "1. O eternal¹²⁹ Son of eternal Father, unto this Thy house—the beautiful eye of the universe—time has brought misfortune. Its cure will provide spiritual salvation. 2. To Thee who rulest everything by the might of Thy nod, I have offered my zeal to save this house. This is Thy gift: grant me steadfastness.¹³⁰ 3. Time has threatened to destroy this inimitable work; it has been hindered by our solicitude. Do Thou open [unto me] Thy house, O most-high Lord, which time toucheth not. 4. Thou sittest as on a throne on the vault [wrought] by Thy hands; yet this is Thy house. It had been suffering from age, so I proffered to it a mighty hand. Do Thou repay me."

These epigrams constitute an invocation to Christ on the part of an emperor who restored the fabric of St. Sophia, and there is little doubt in our minds that the emperor in question is Basil I. As a result of the earthquake of 869, the church developed fissures in many places,¹³¹ and especially in the great western arch which threatened imminent collapse.¹³² Basil proceeded, therefore, to "tighten up" (περισφιγξας) this arch, in which he represented in mosaic the Virgin and Child and the Apostles Peter and Paul, and to repair the other damaged parts of the building.¹³³ The expressions used in our epigrams (χρόνος ἠγάγε πῆμα...θεραπεία...σώλειν τὸν δόμον...χρόνος ἠπείλησεν λύσειν...πονοῦντι δὲ χρόνῳ) are not only entirely appropriate to the condition of St. Sophia after the disaster of 869, but find an exact correspondence in the vocabulary applied by the *Vita Basilii* to the restoration of several dozen other churches by Basil I.

We have no documentary evidence to assert that Basil rebuilt the tympana of St. Sophia. It may be that the structural history of the tympana is not limited to one major rebuilding, but will reveal several stages of repair, one of them being perhaps connected with the earthquake of 869. The answer to this question will be provided only when both tympana are freed from the plaster that now covers them; when this is done they can be subjected to a thorough examination. Whatever the correct solution may prove to be, we are convinced that the epigrams were integral with the figural decoration of the tympana: Fossati's careful drawing which shows the final word of stanza 4, [A]NTIΔOC, above

¹²⁹ Literally "uncompounded" or "intact," a common epithet applied to the Godhead.

¹³⁰ Or perhaps "continuance" in the sense of a long reign.

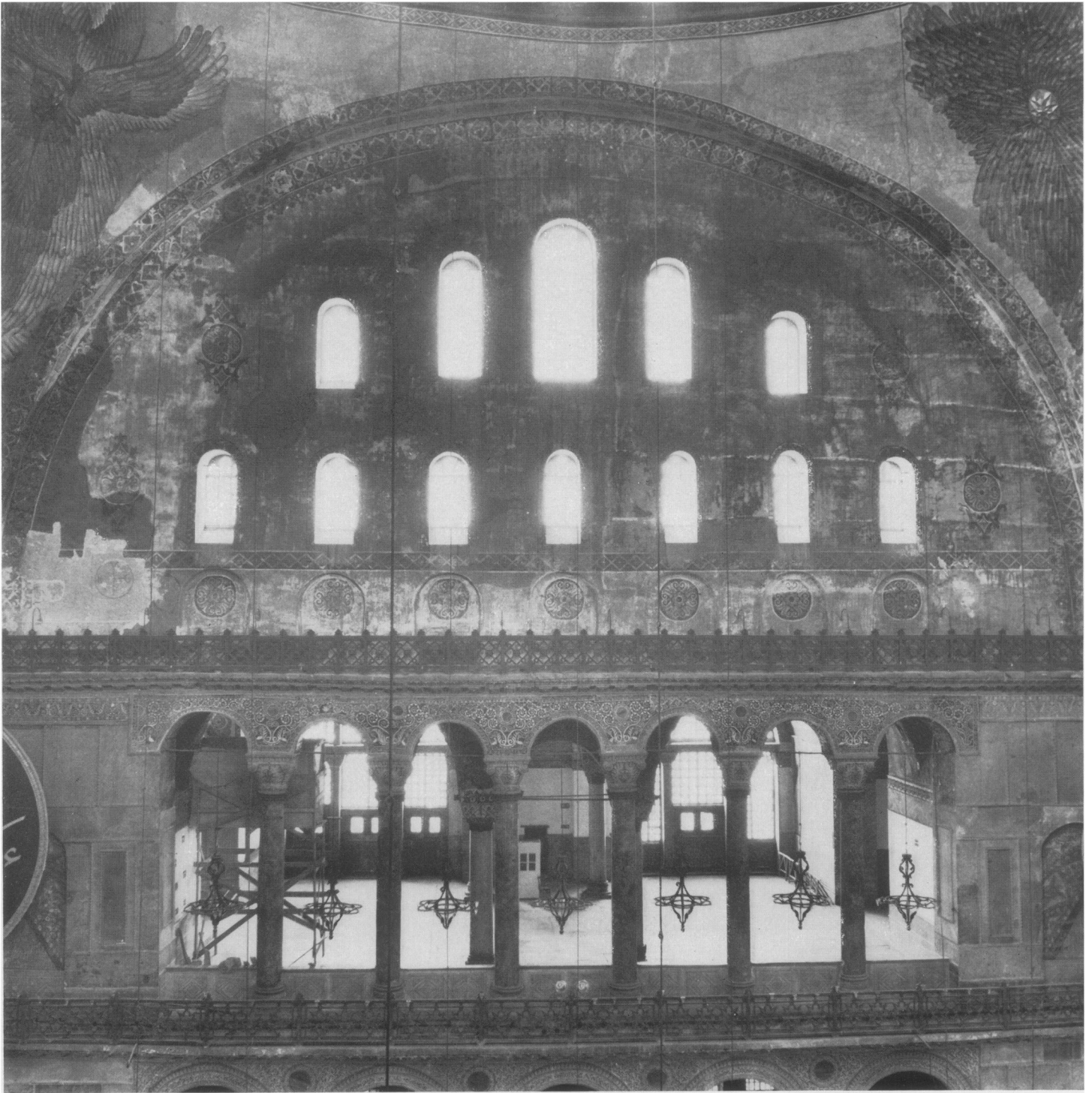
¹³¹ *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, 549 A: καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας οἶκος κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη διεκινδυνεύετο ῥηγνύμενος, εἰ μὴ τῆς ἀξίας πρὸς τῶν κρατούντων ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιμελείας.

¹³² *Vita Basilii* in Theoph. Cont., ed. Bonn, 322; Cedrenus, ed. Bonn, II, 237; Zonaras, ed. Bonn, III, 435.

¹³³ *Vita Basilii*, loc. cit.

the head of the prophet Jonah,¹³⁴ proves that the lettering of the epigrams was identical with that accompanying the figures of the Prophets and the Church Fathers. From this it follows that the mosaic redecoration of the tympana was conceived and begun in the reign of Basil I. The task, coupled with structural repairs, was one of considerable magnitude and may have required several years, if not decades, to complete. Since the mosaics were presumably made from the top of the tympana downward, we have no guarantee that the Fathers, who constitute the lowest element of this decoration, were completed before Basil's death in 886: the work may have dragged on into the reign of Leo VI. In short, we believe that the figures of the Fathers should in all probability be dated to the last two decades of the ninth century.

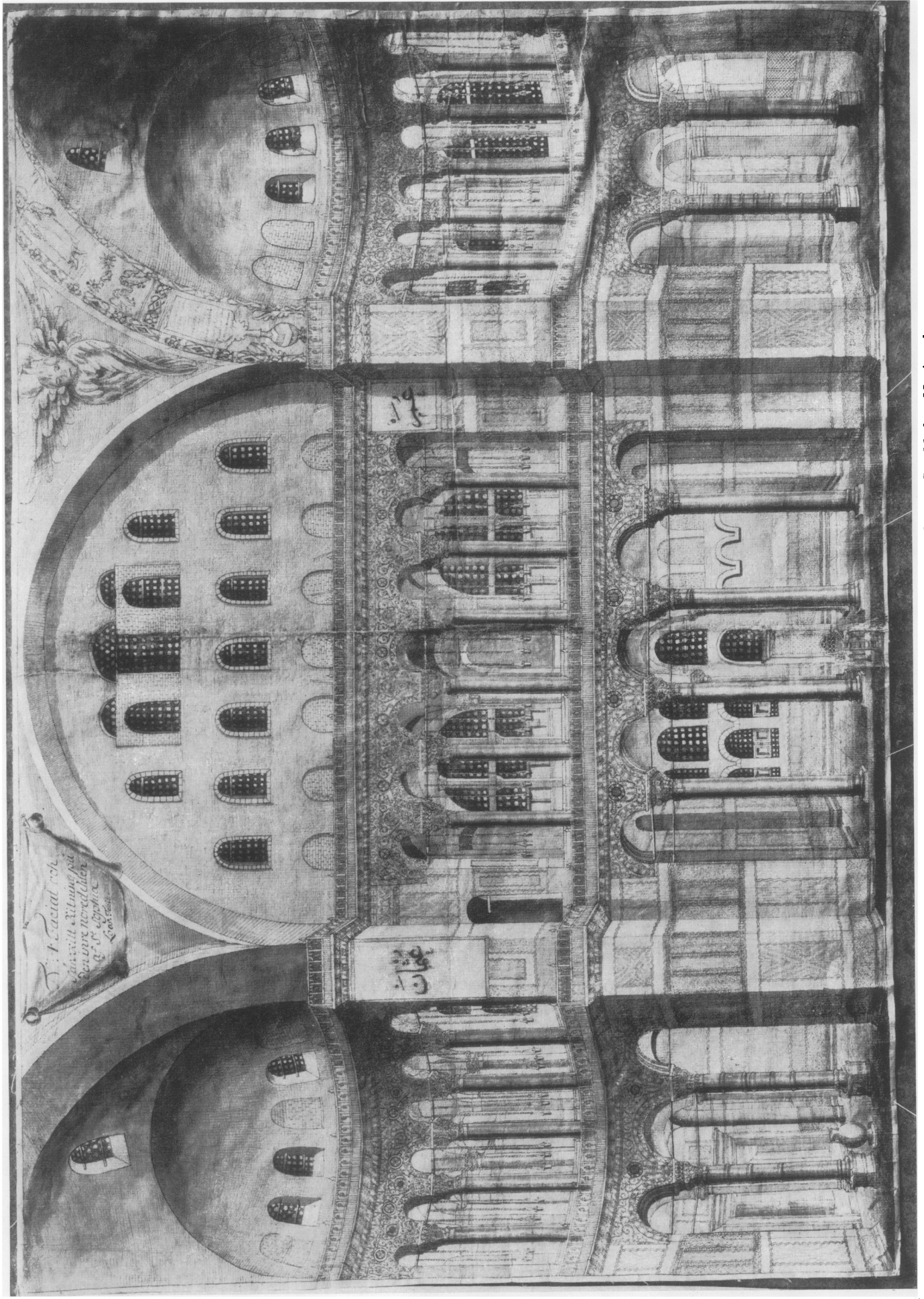
¹³⁴ Mango, *Materials*, fig. 87.



1. St. Sophia, South Tympanum



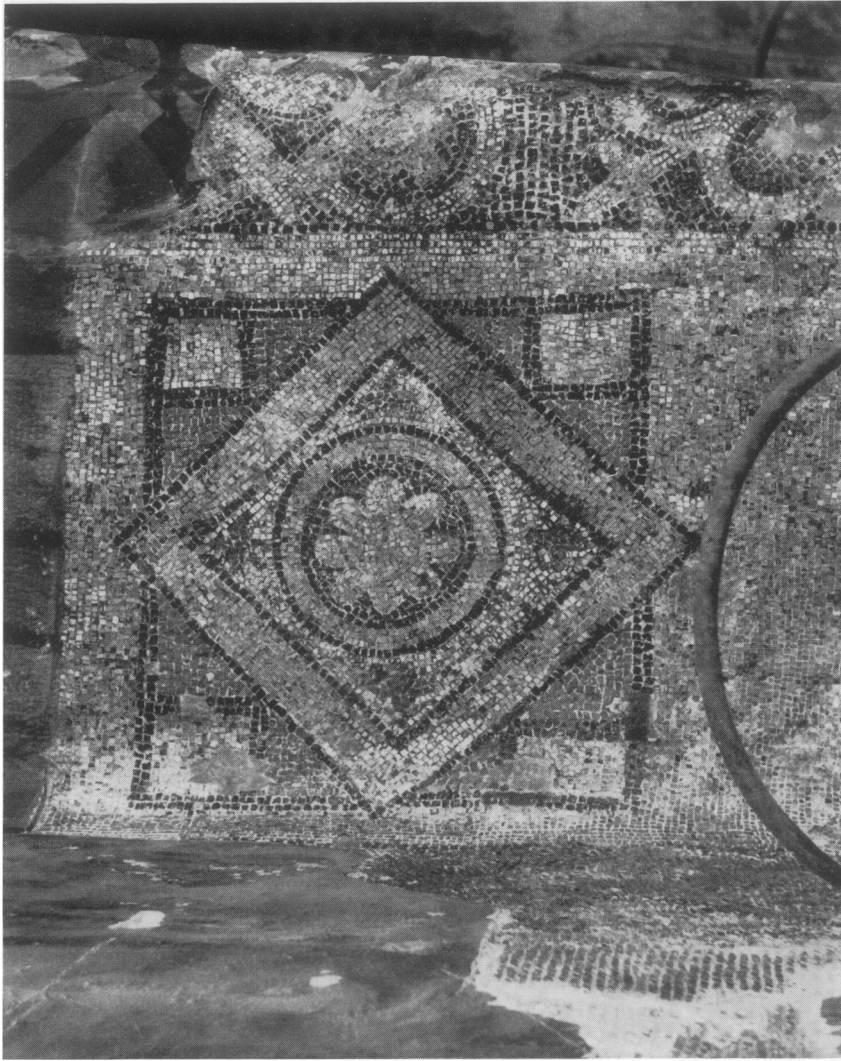
2. St. Sophia, North Tympanum



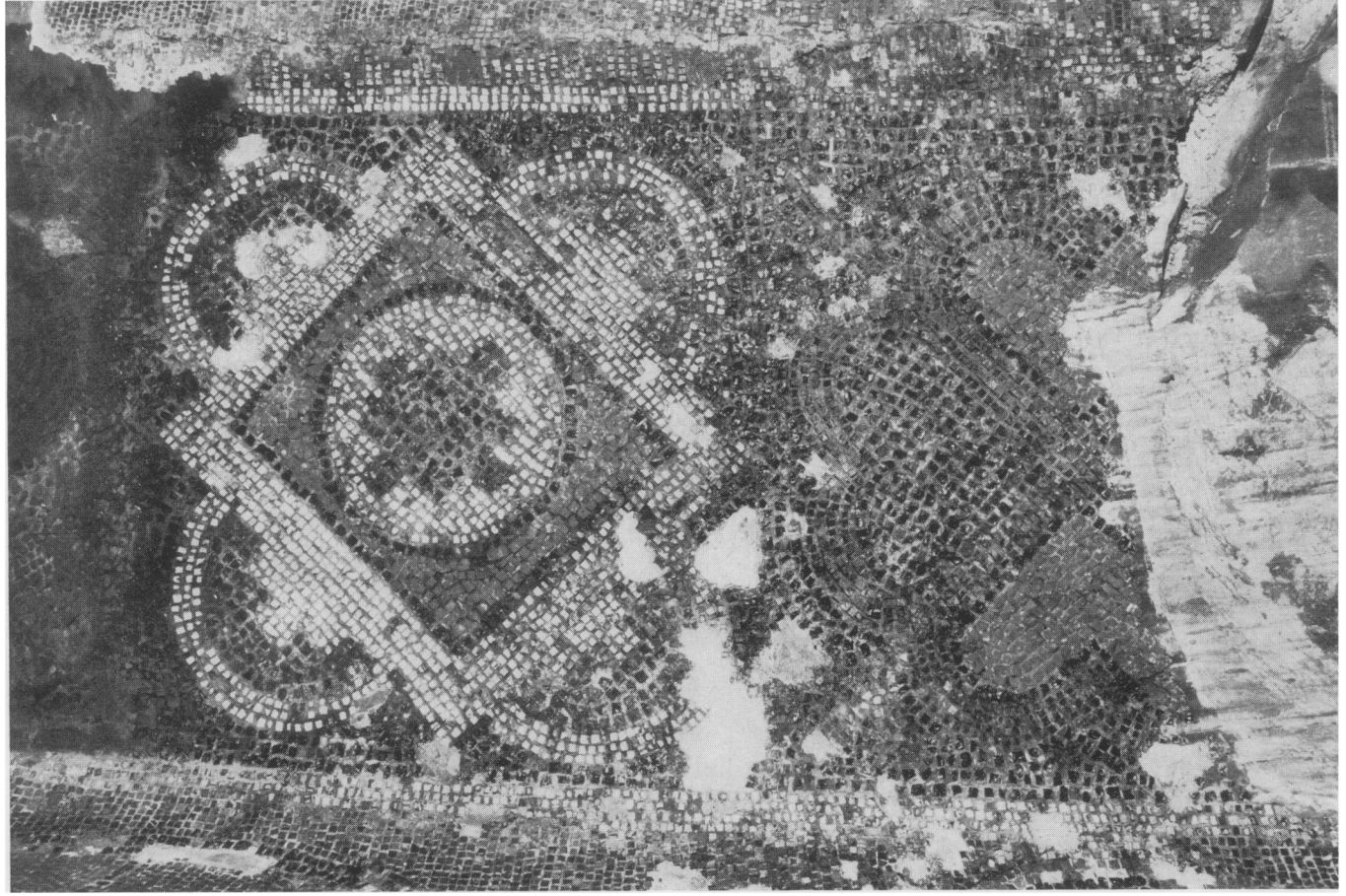
3. St. Sophia, Interior, looking North. Drawing by Cornelius Loos. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



5. South Arch, East Side of Reveal. Ornament



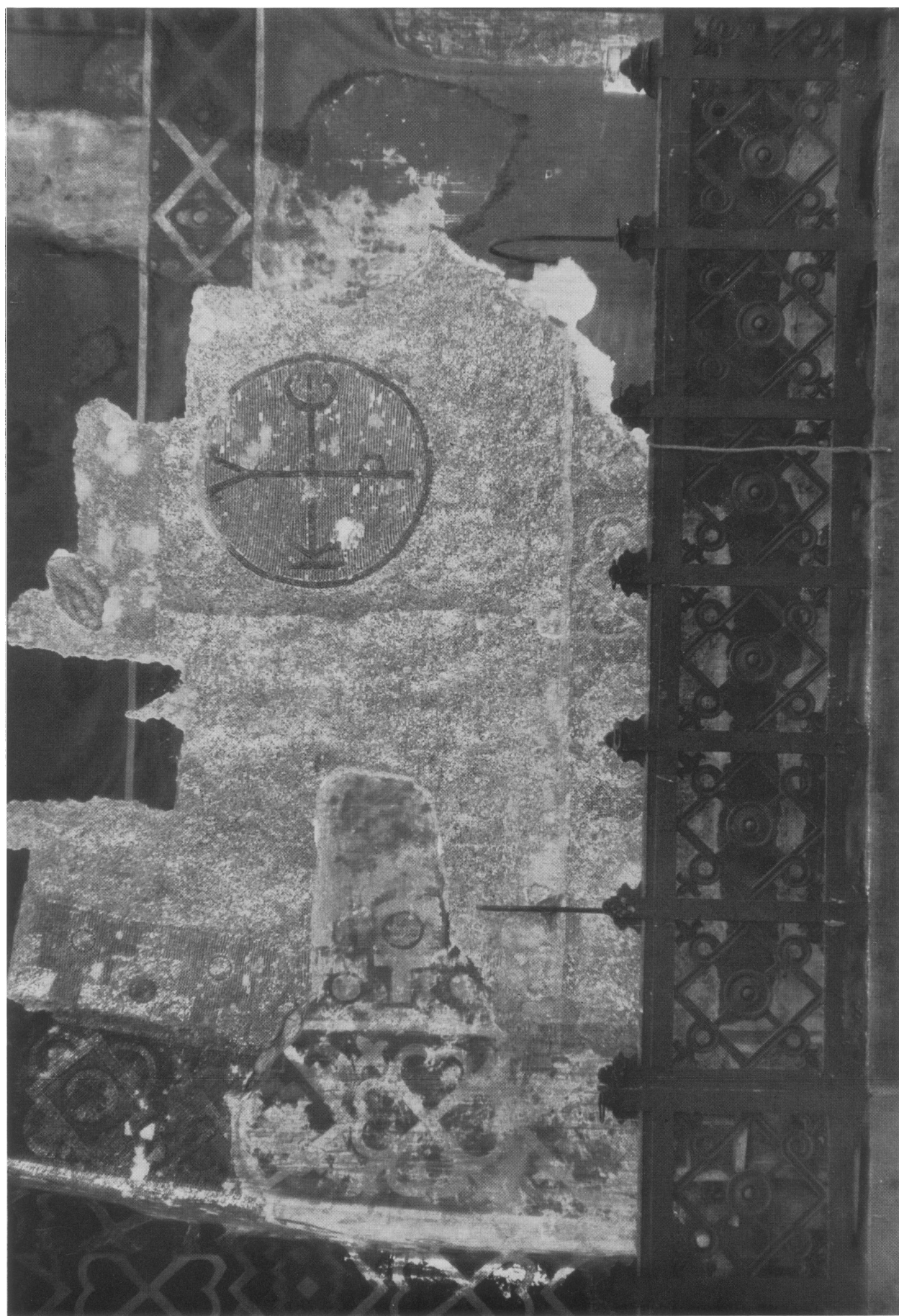
4. North Arch, East Side of Reveal. Ornament



6. South Tympanum. Detail of Ornamental Surround



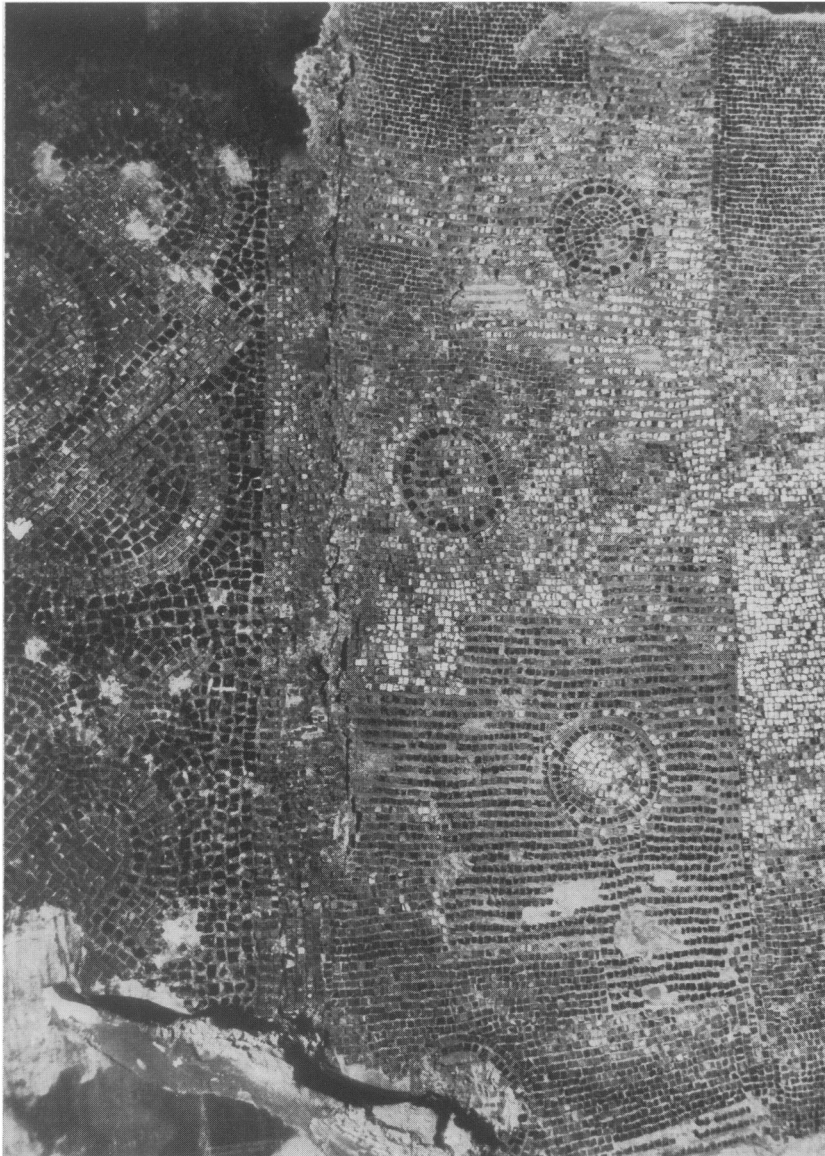
7. North Tympanum. Detail of Ornamental Surround



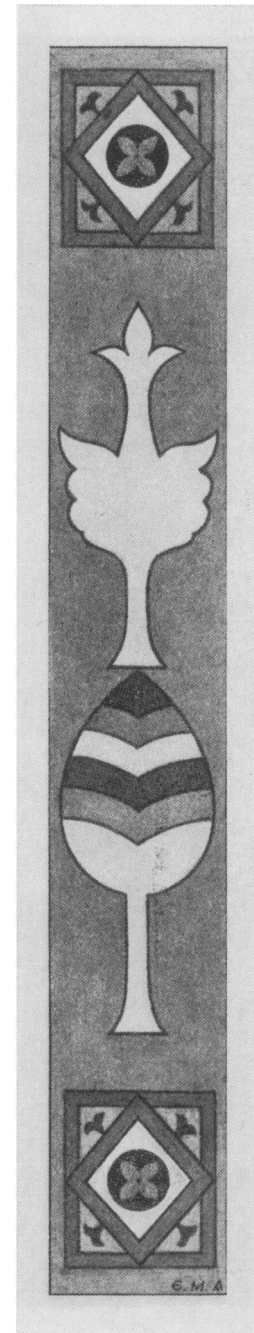
8. South Tympanum, East End



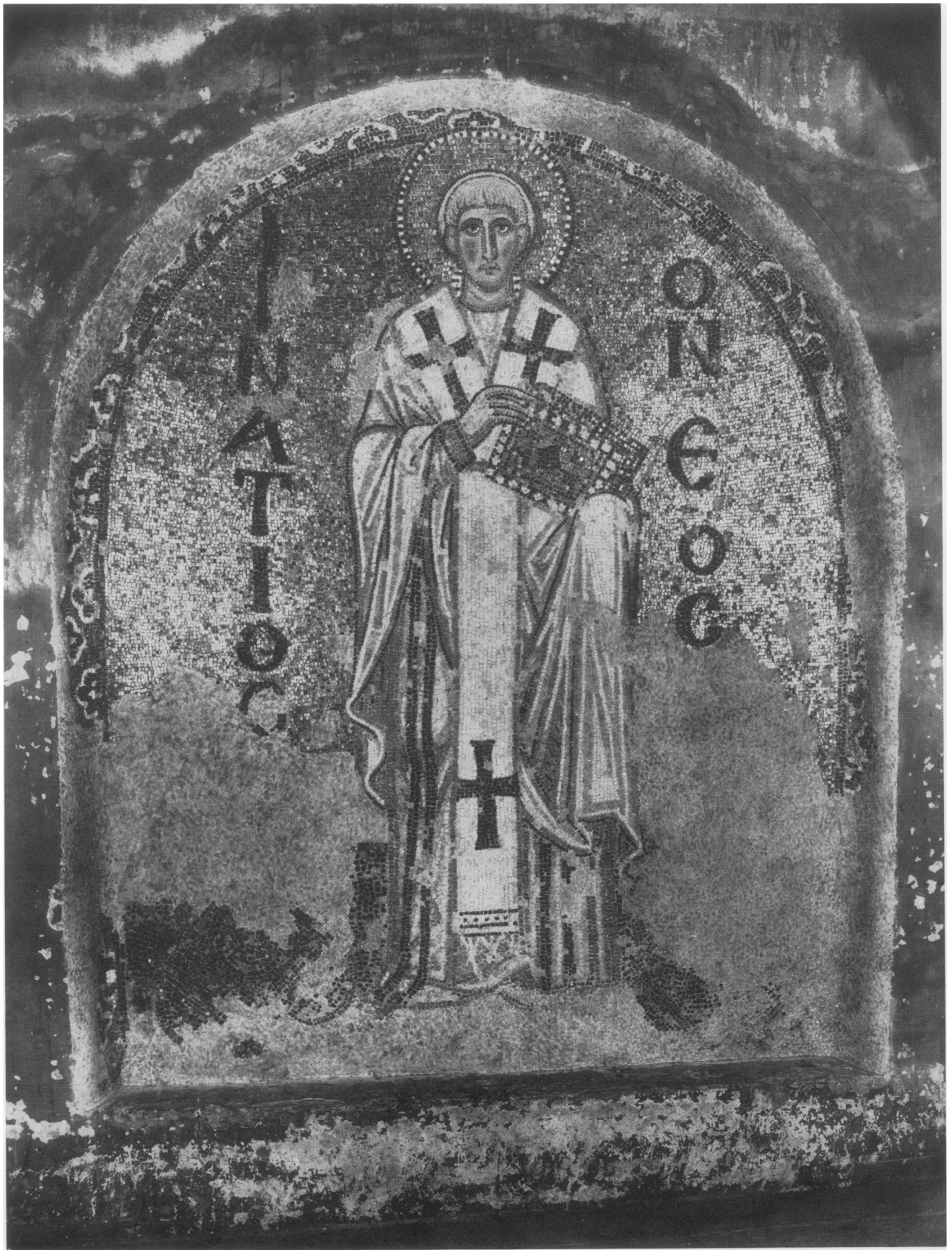
9. South Tympanum, Foot of the Prophet Isaiah



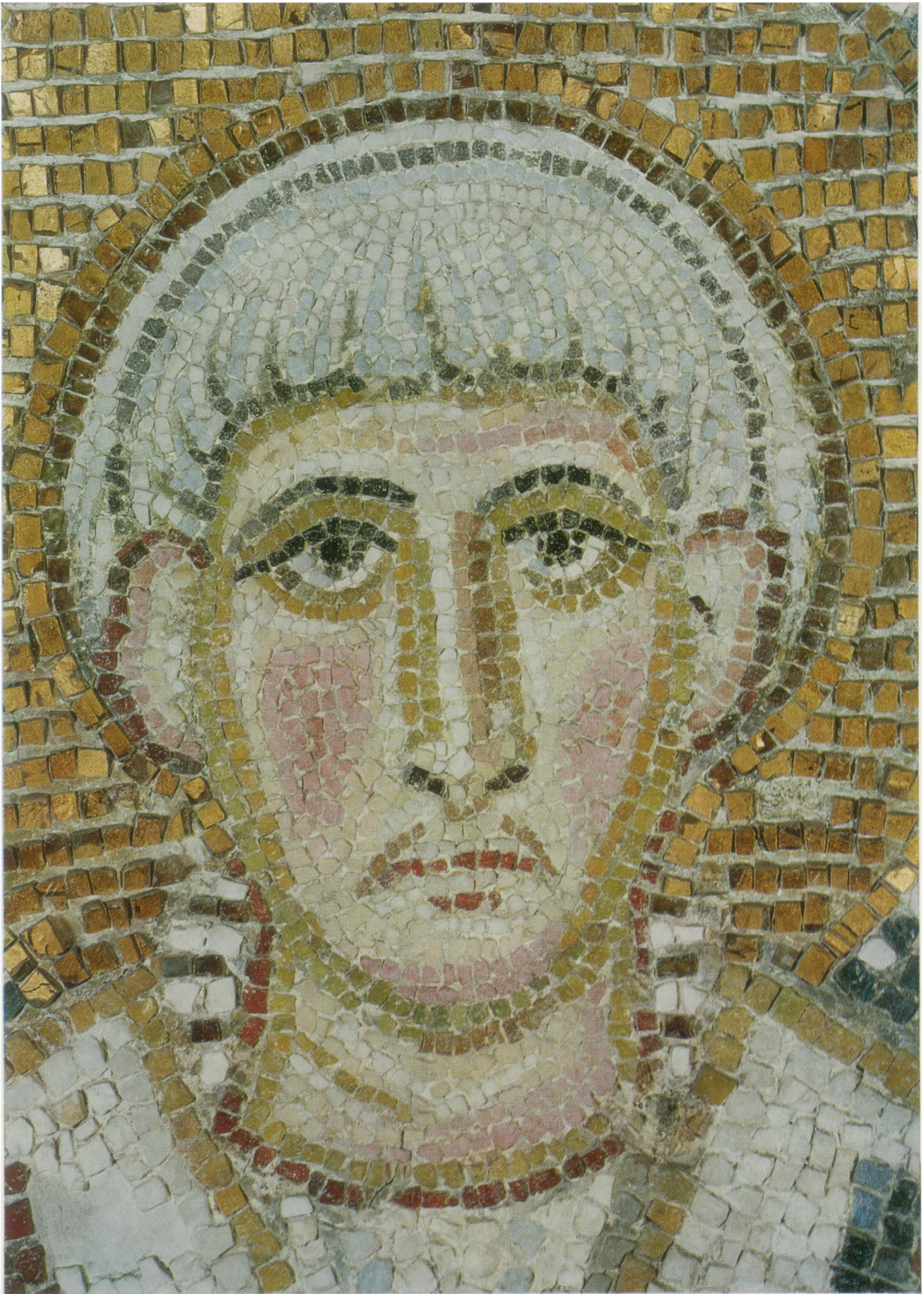
10. South Tympanum. Detail of Crenellated Border



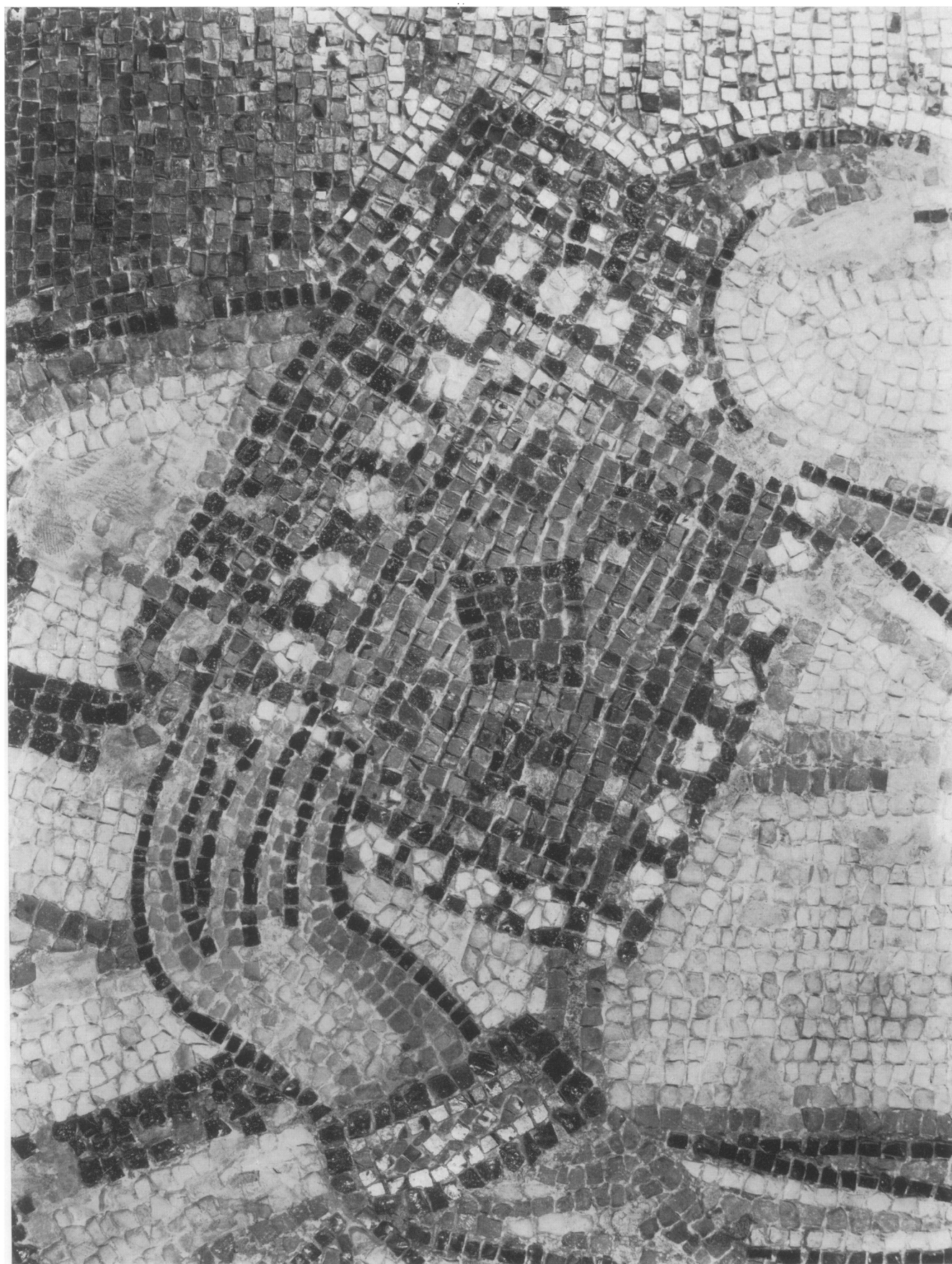
11. Reveals of North and South Arches.
Approximate Drawing,
after E. M. Antoniadis



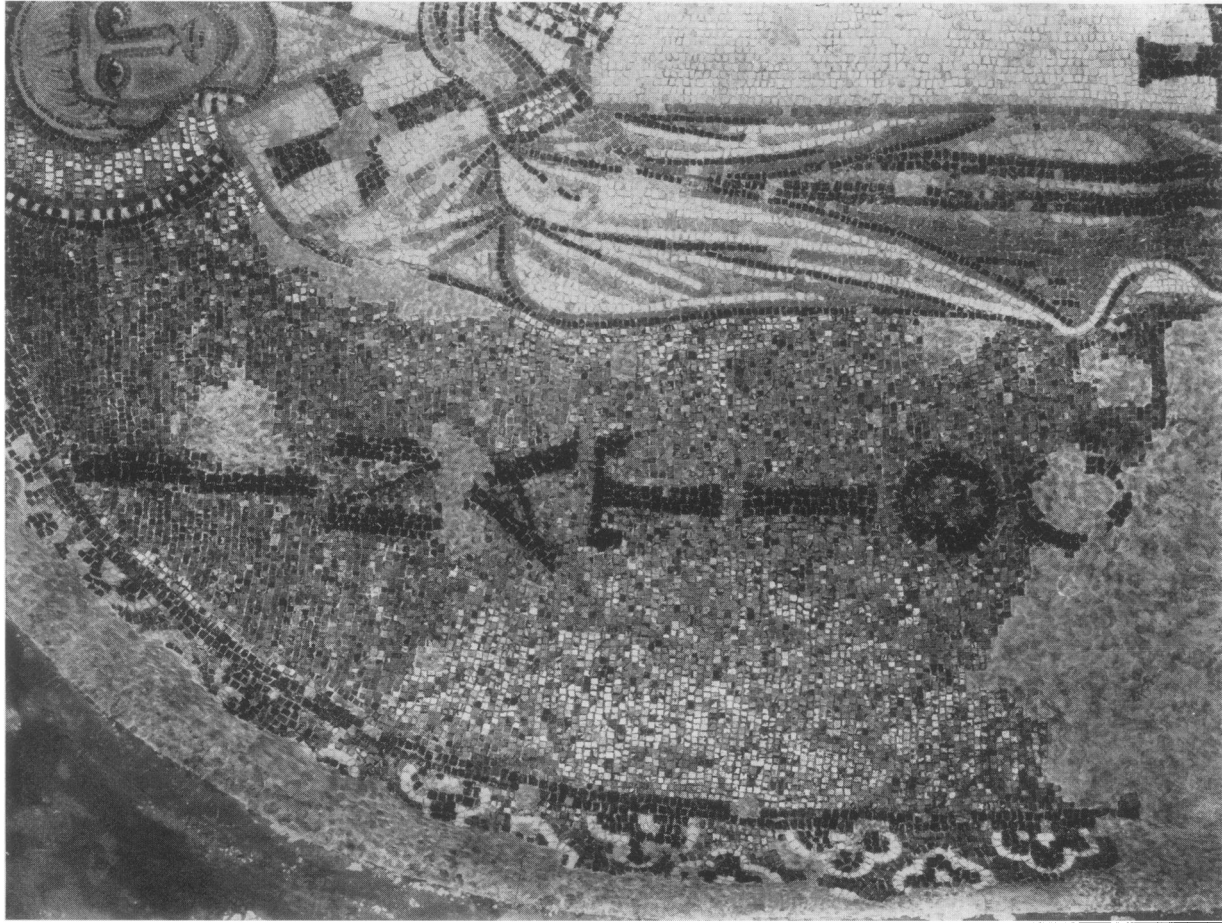
12. St. Ignatius the Younger



13. St. Ignatius the Younger, Head



14. St. Ignatius the Younger, Hand and Gospel Book



15. Inscription, left.



16. Inscription, right

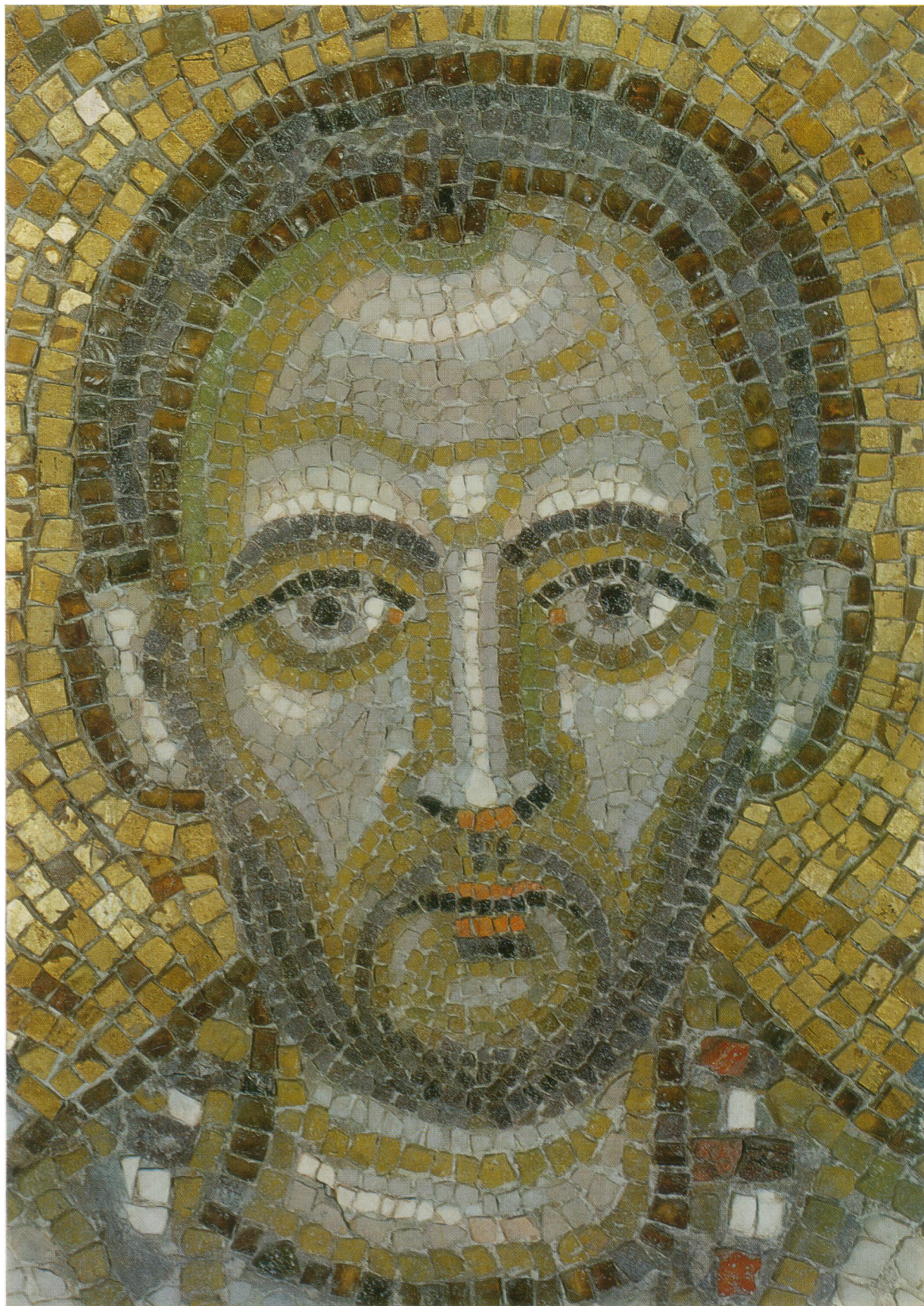
St. Ignatius the Younger Panel



17. St. John Chrysostom



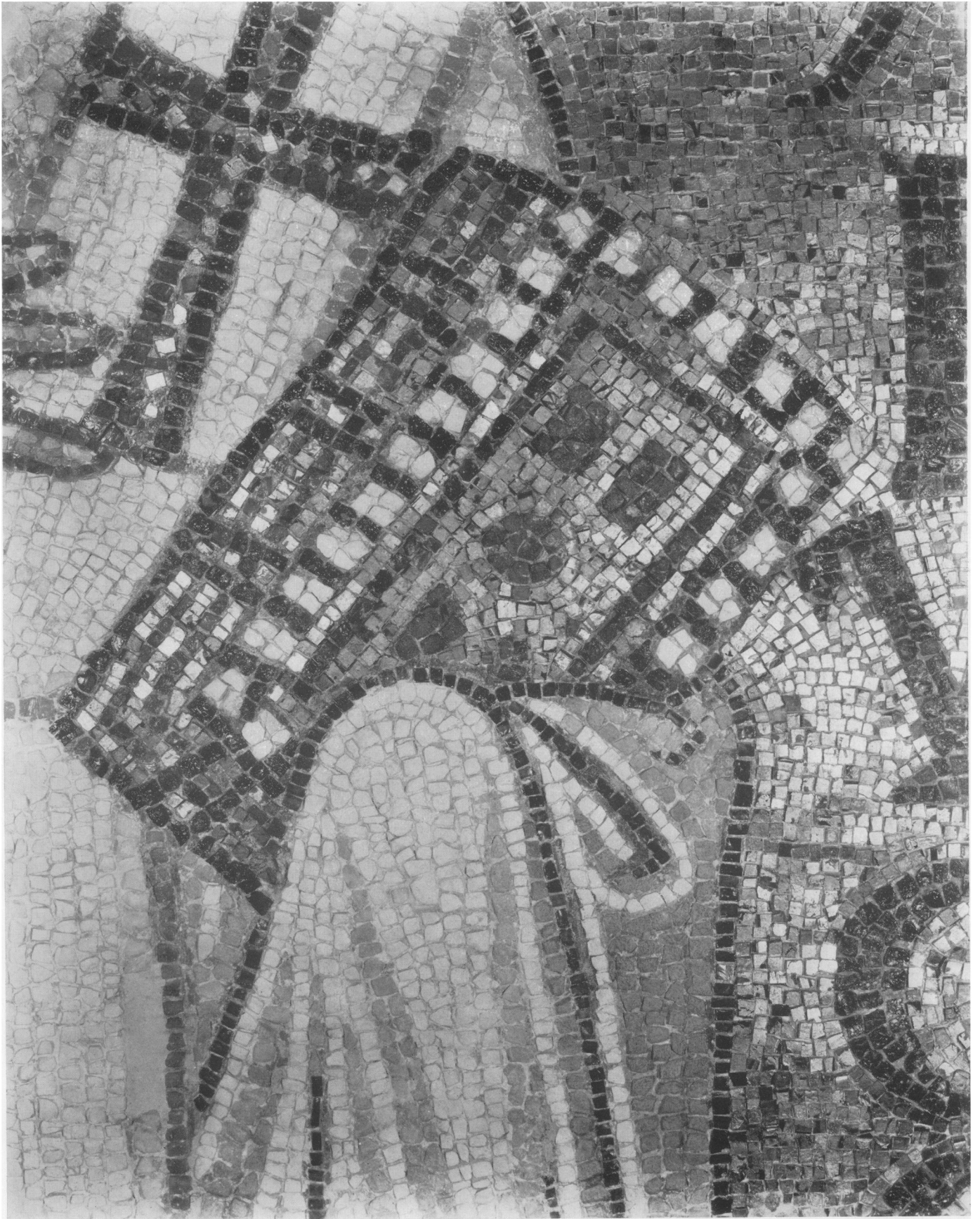
18. St. John Chrysostom, Upper Half



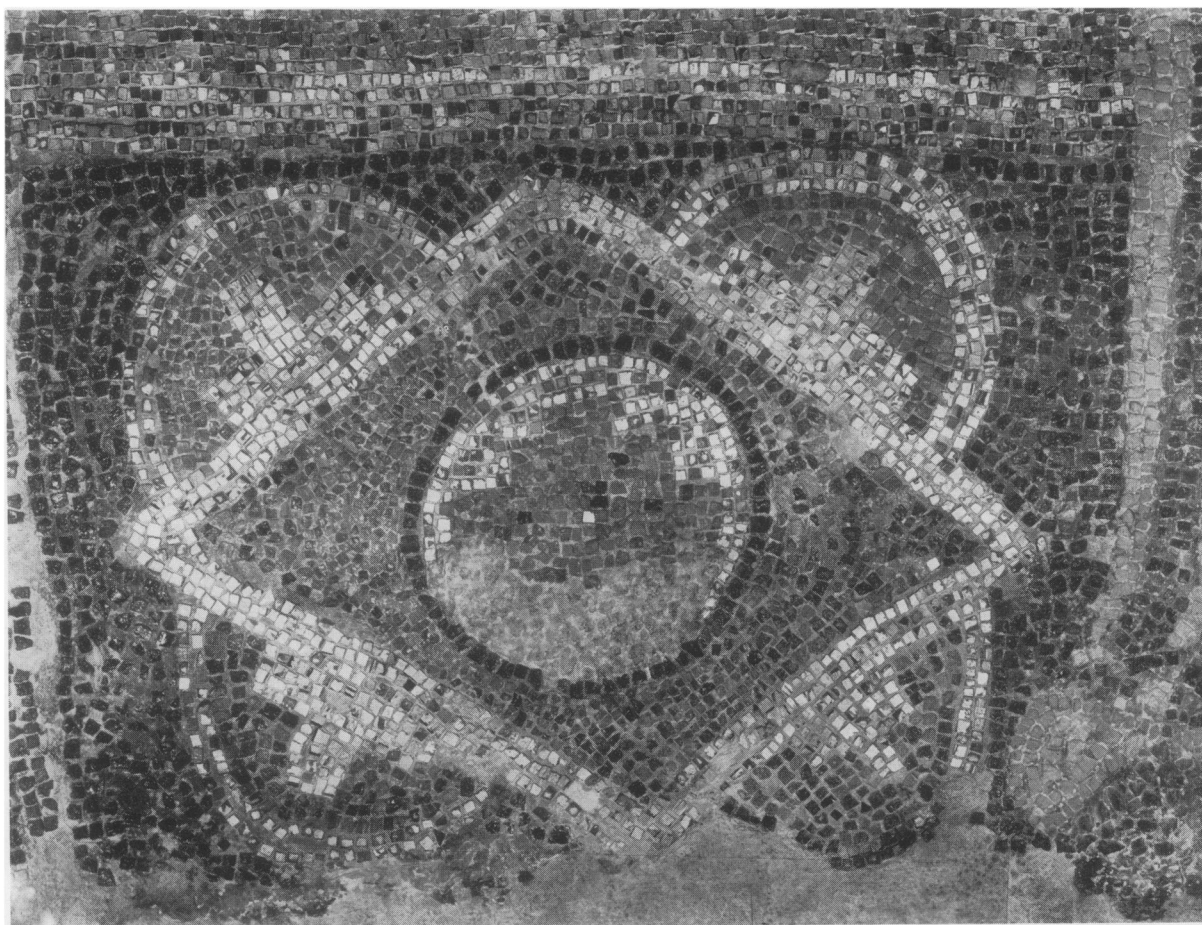
19. St. John Chrysostom, Head



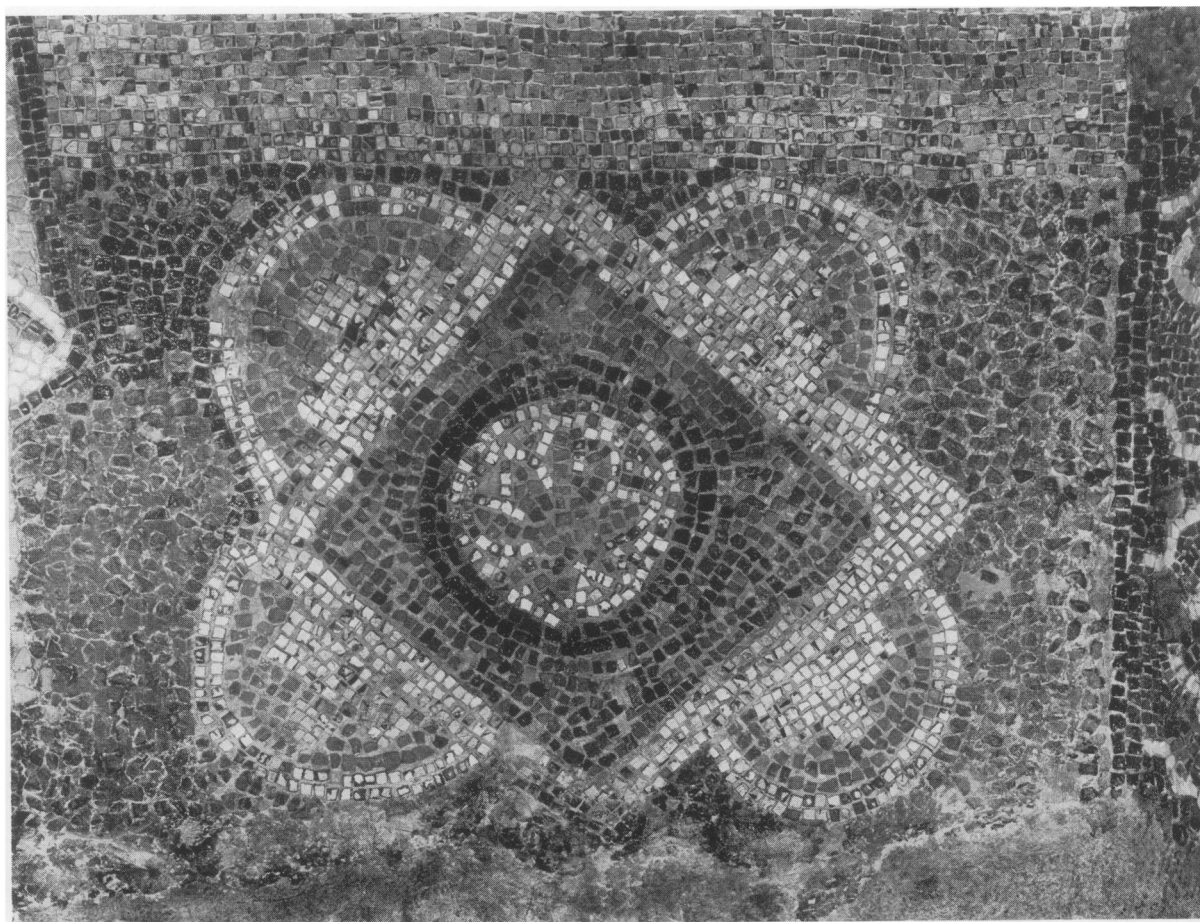
20. St. John Chrysostom, Hand



21. St. John Chrysostom, Gospel Book

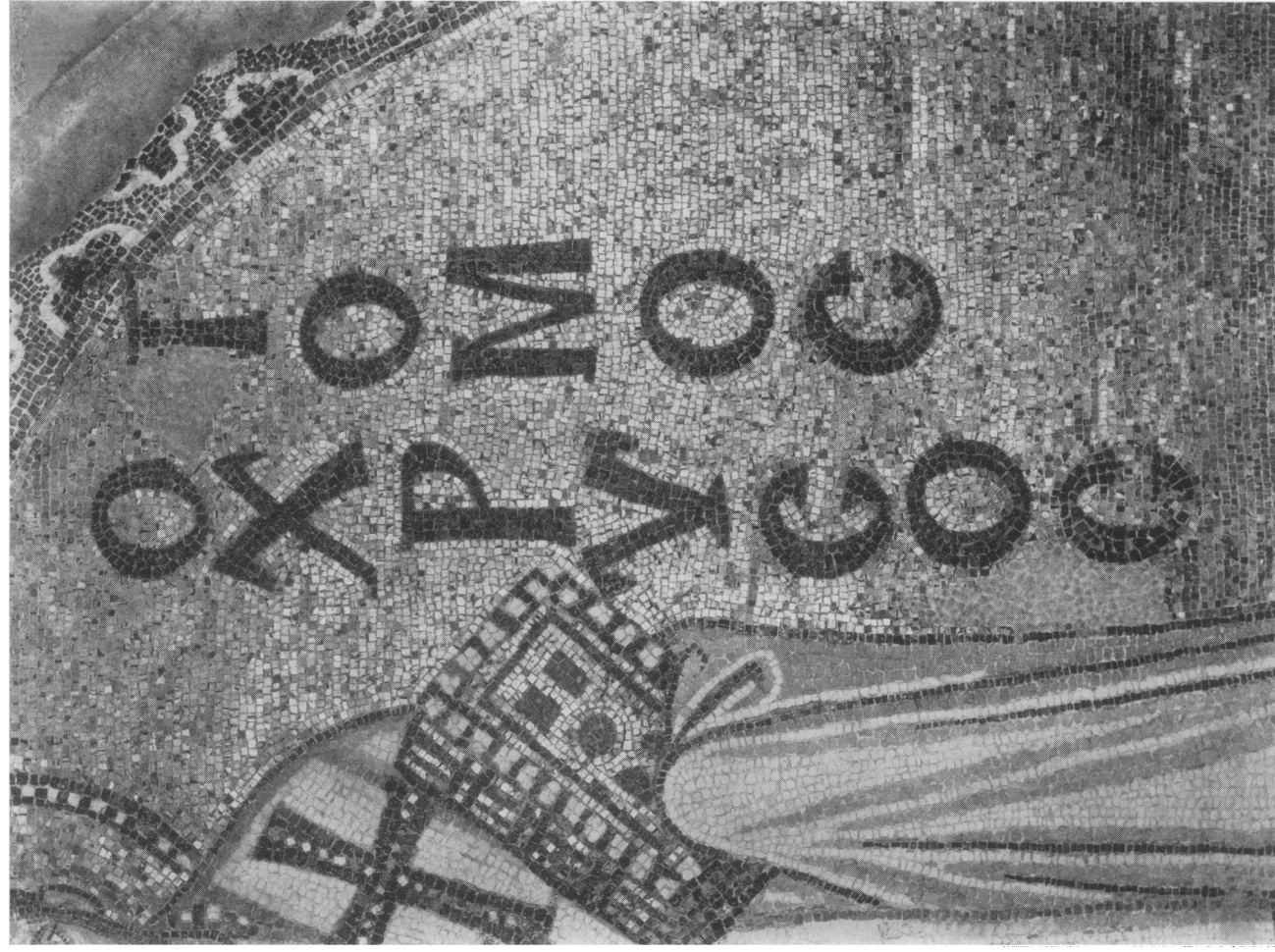


22. Left Diamond



23. Right Diamond

St. John Chrysostom Panel

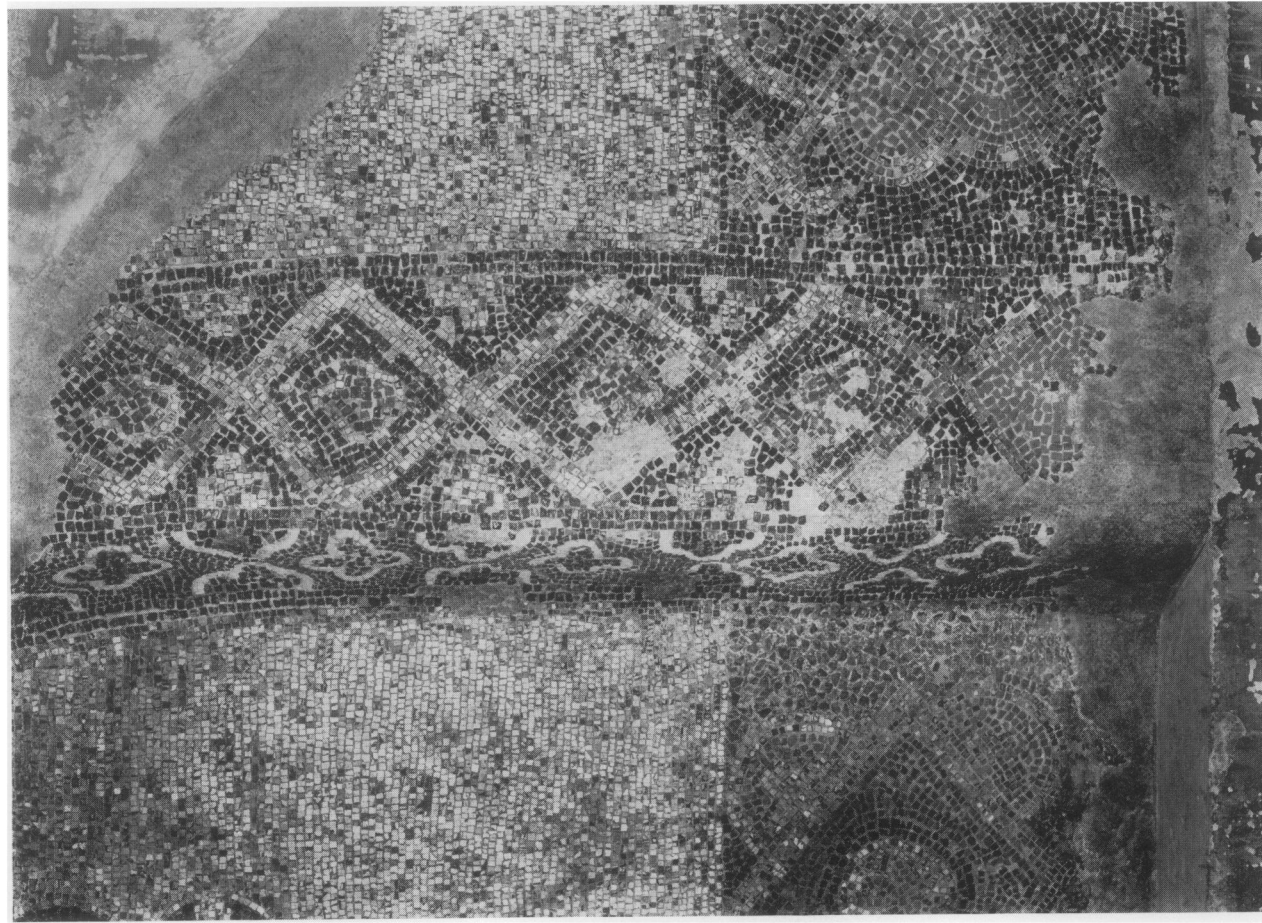


25. Inscription, right

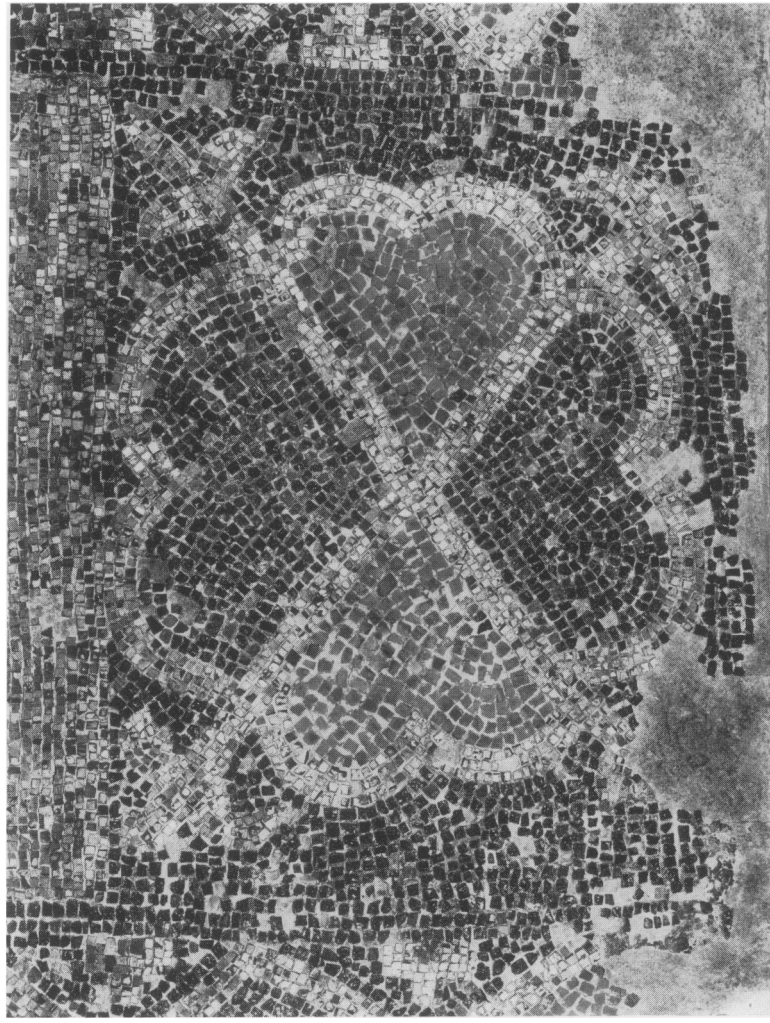


24. Inscription, left

St. John Chrysostom Panel



26. St. John Chrysostom Panel. Ornamental Surround of Niche



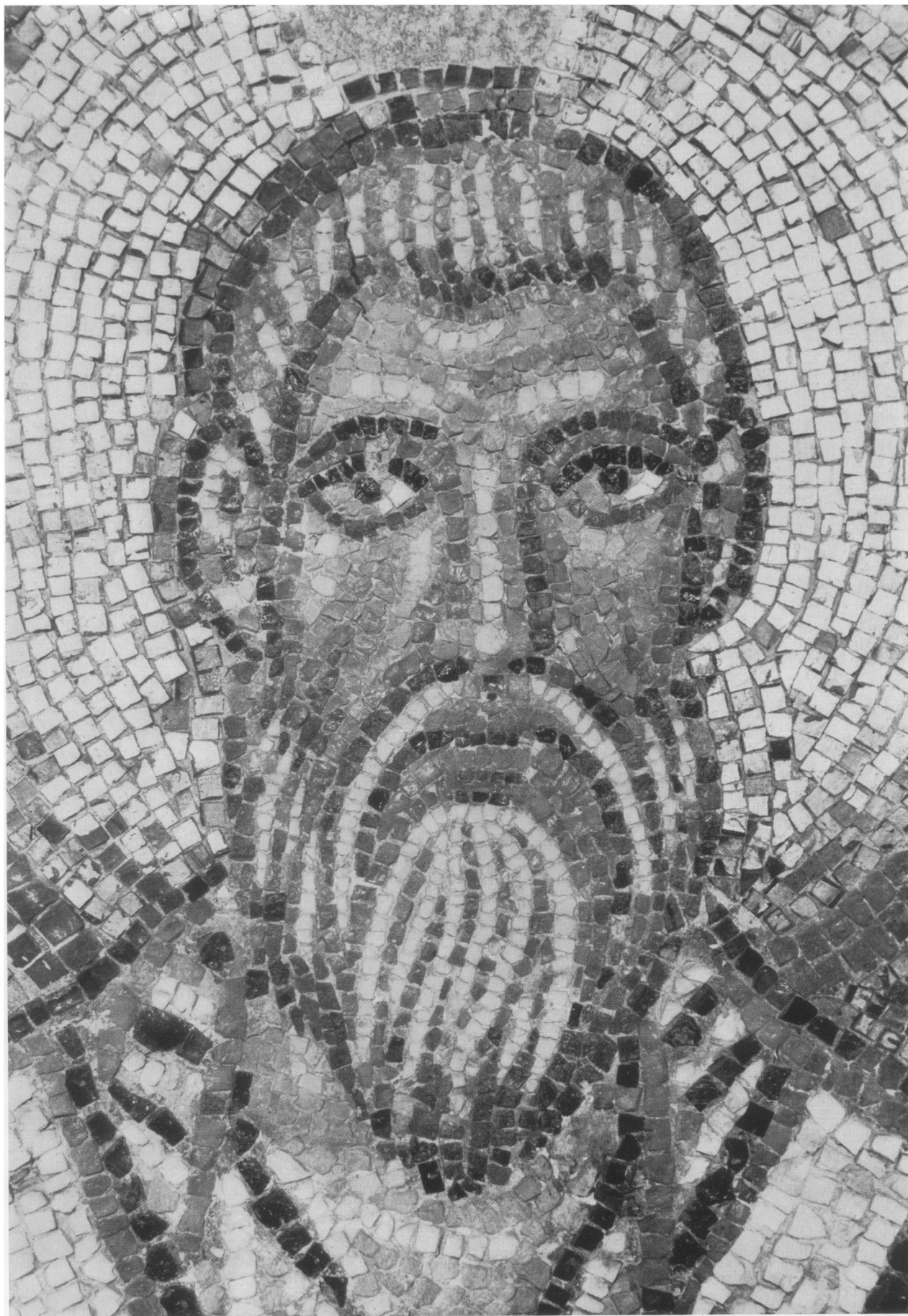
27. Rosette between Panels of St. John Chrysostom and St. Ignatius Theophoros



28. St. Ignatius Theophoros



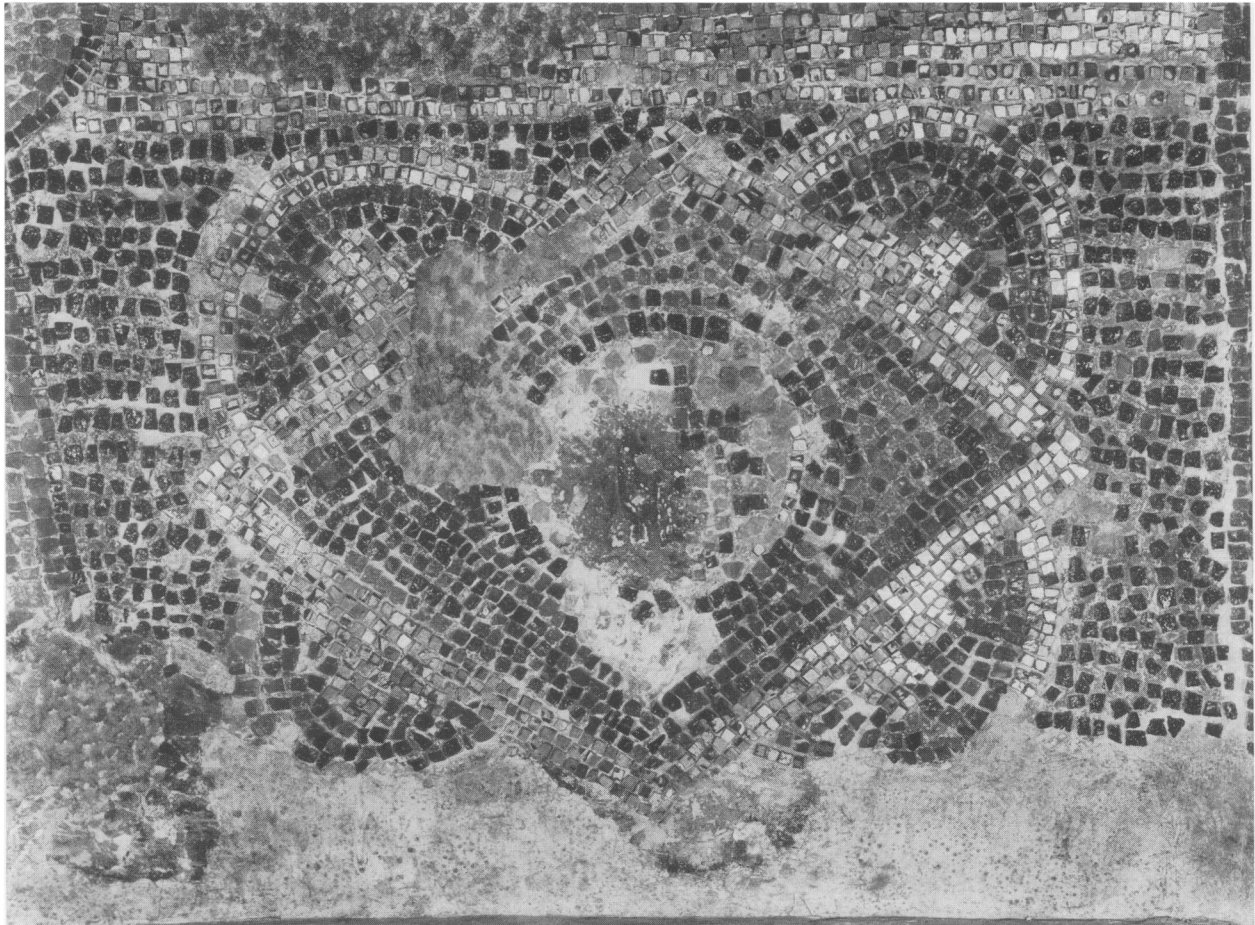
29. St. Ignatius Theophoros, Upper Half



30. St. Ignatius Theophoros, Head



31. Left Diamond

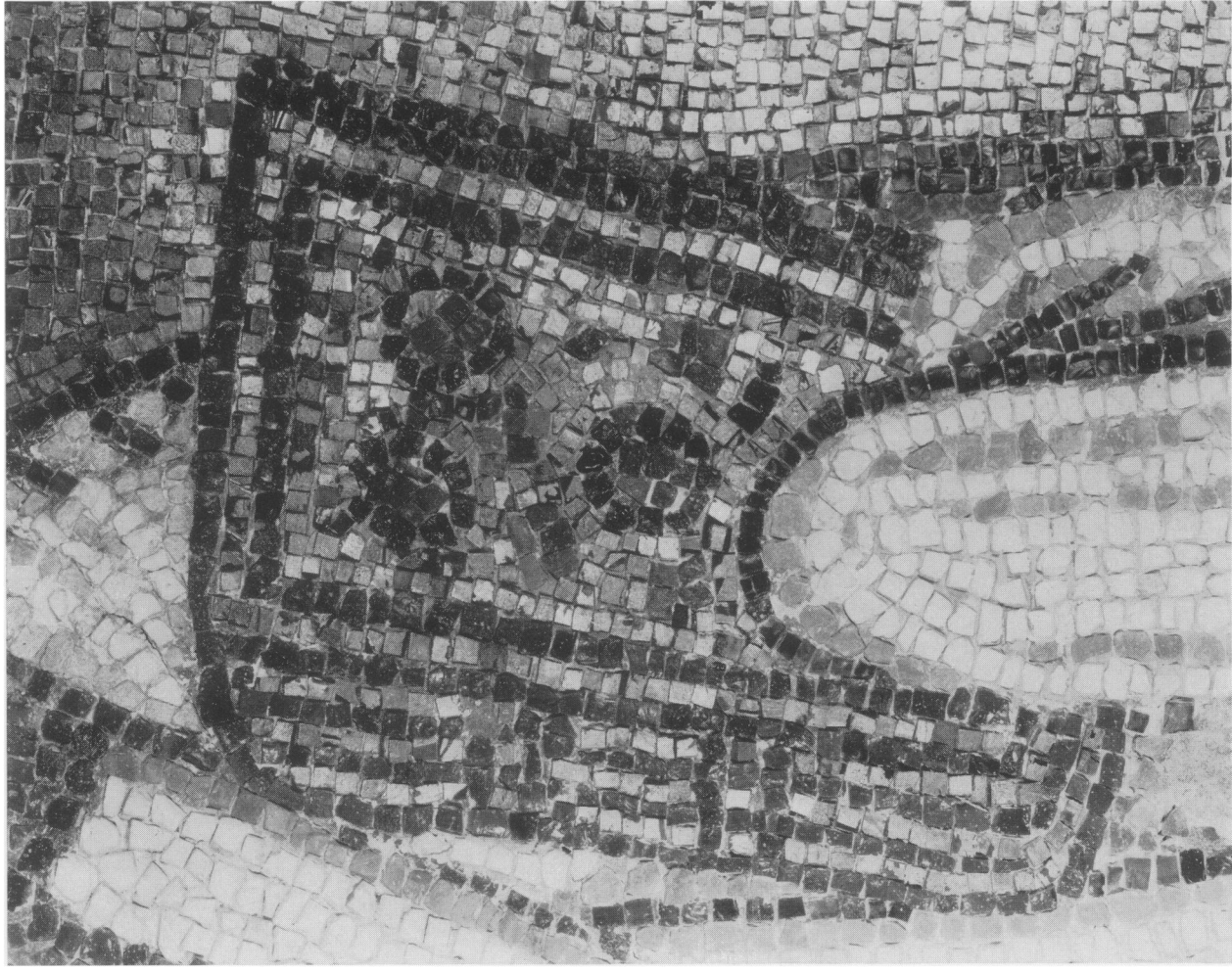


32. Right Diamond

St. Ignatius Theophoros Panel

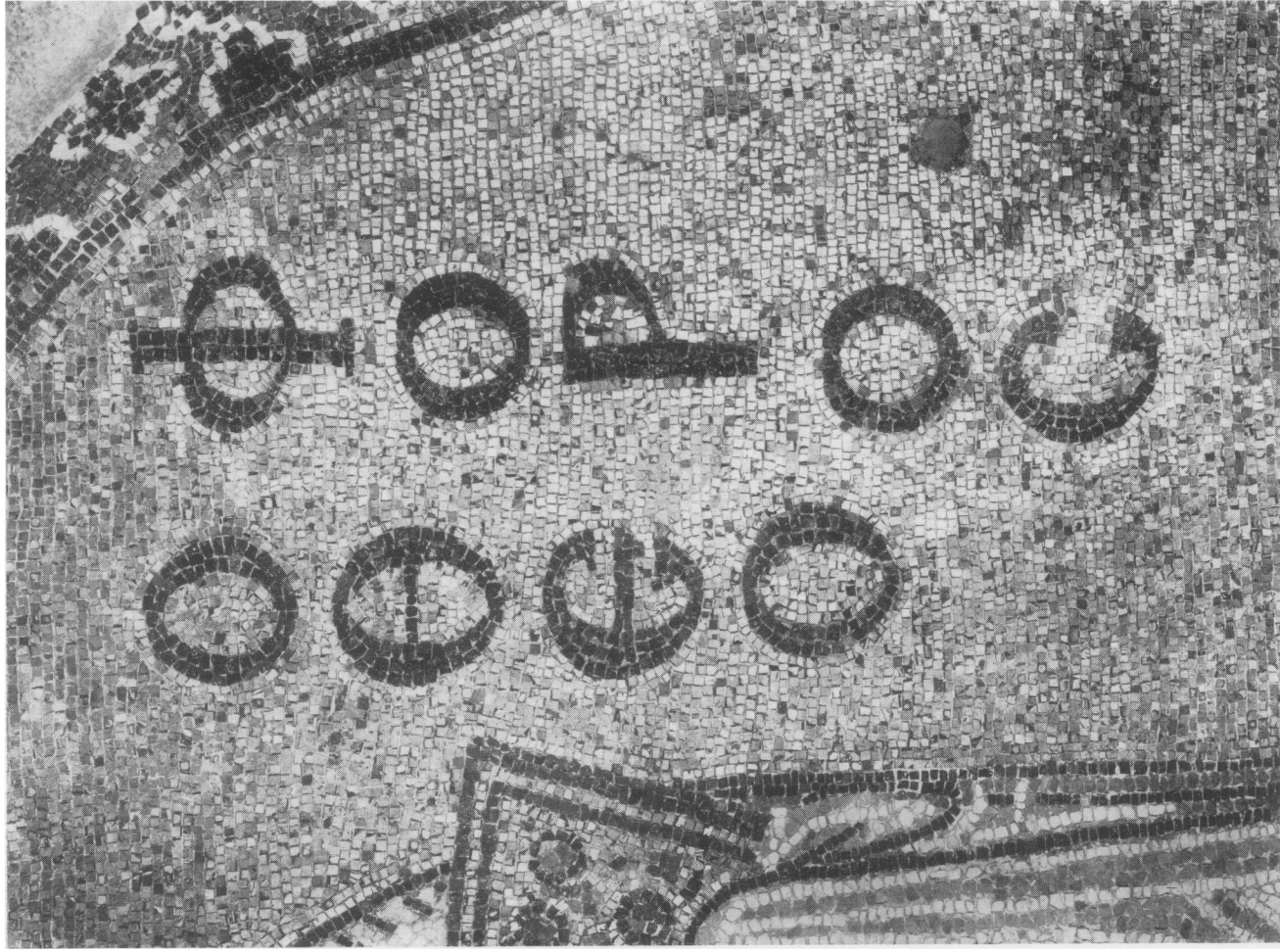


33. Hand

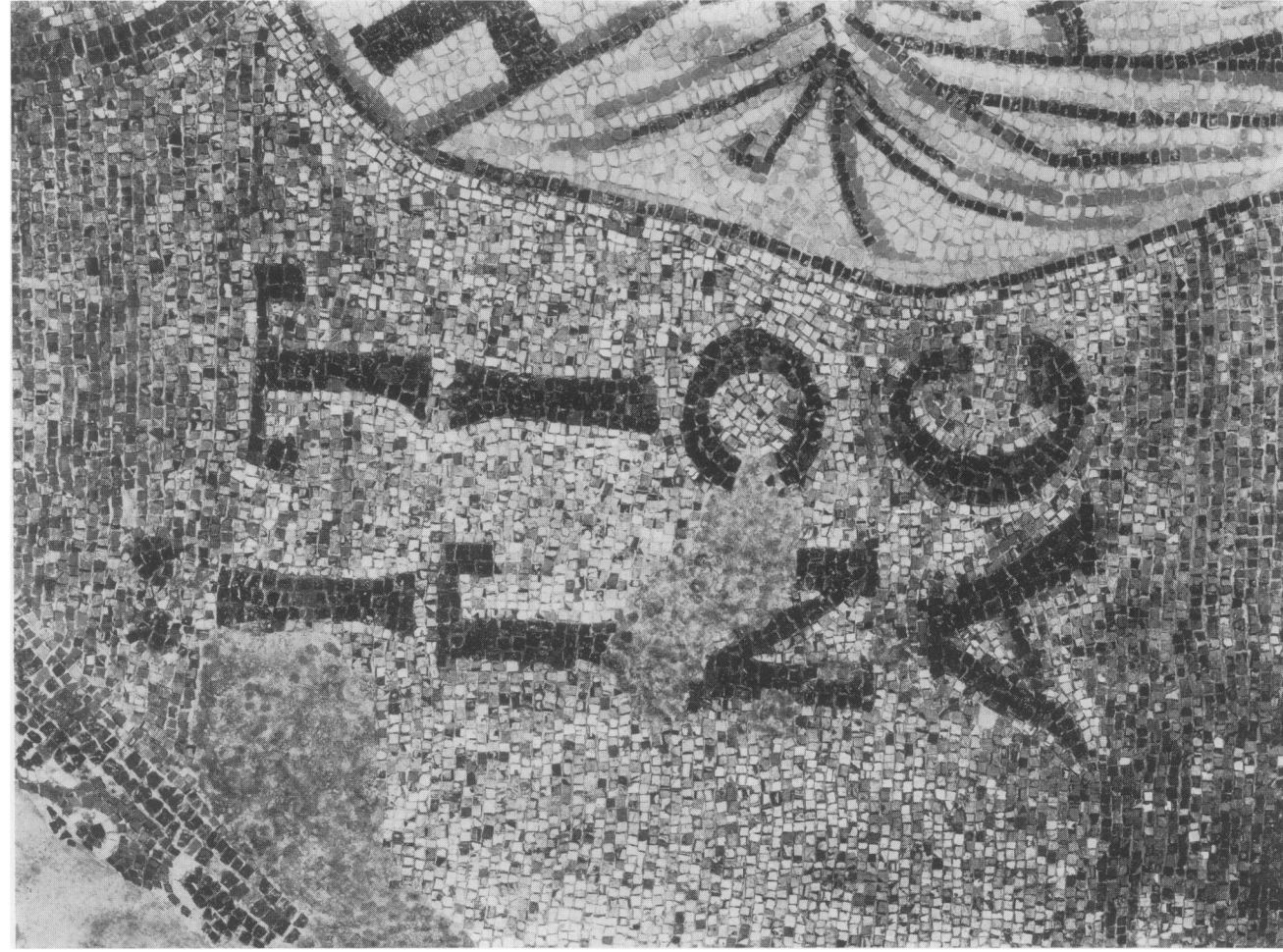


34. Gospel Book

St. Ignatius Theophoros

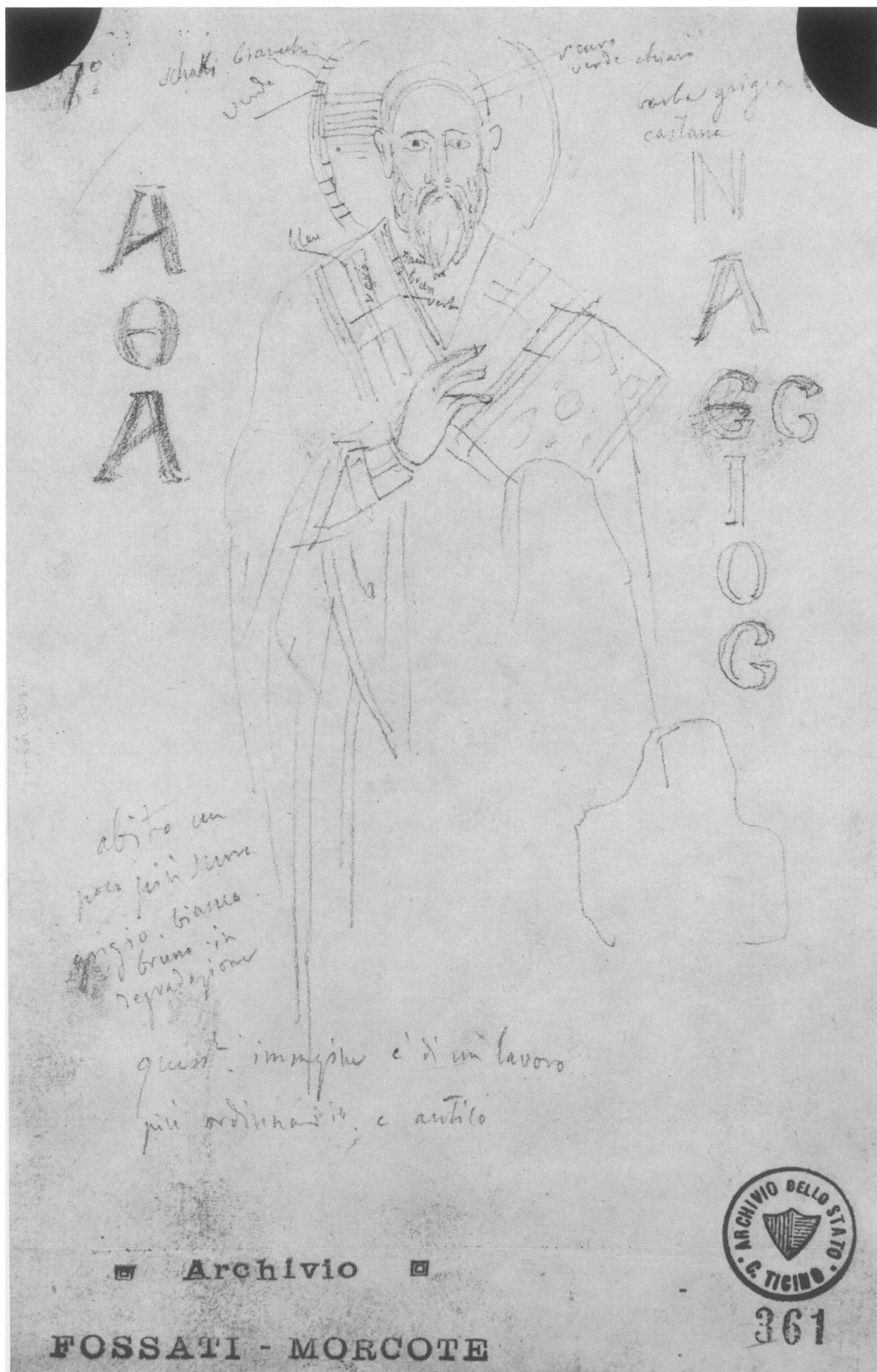


36. Inscription, right



35. Inscription, left

St. Ignatius Theophorus Panel



37. St. Athanasius. Drawing by G. Fossati. Bellinzona, Archivio Cantonale



38. St. Athanasius Panel



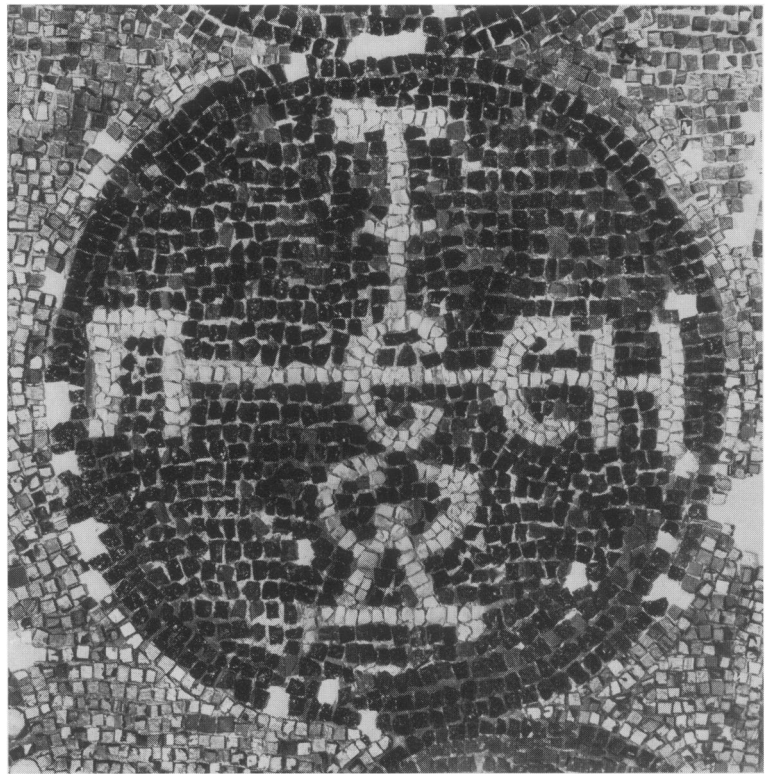
39. St. Athanasius Panel. Head and Nimbus



40. North Tympanum, East End. Monogram



41. North Tympanum, East End. Monogram



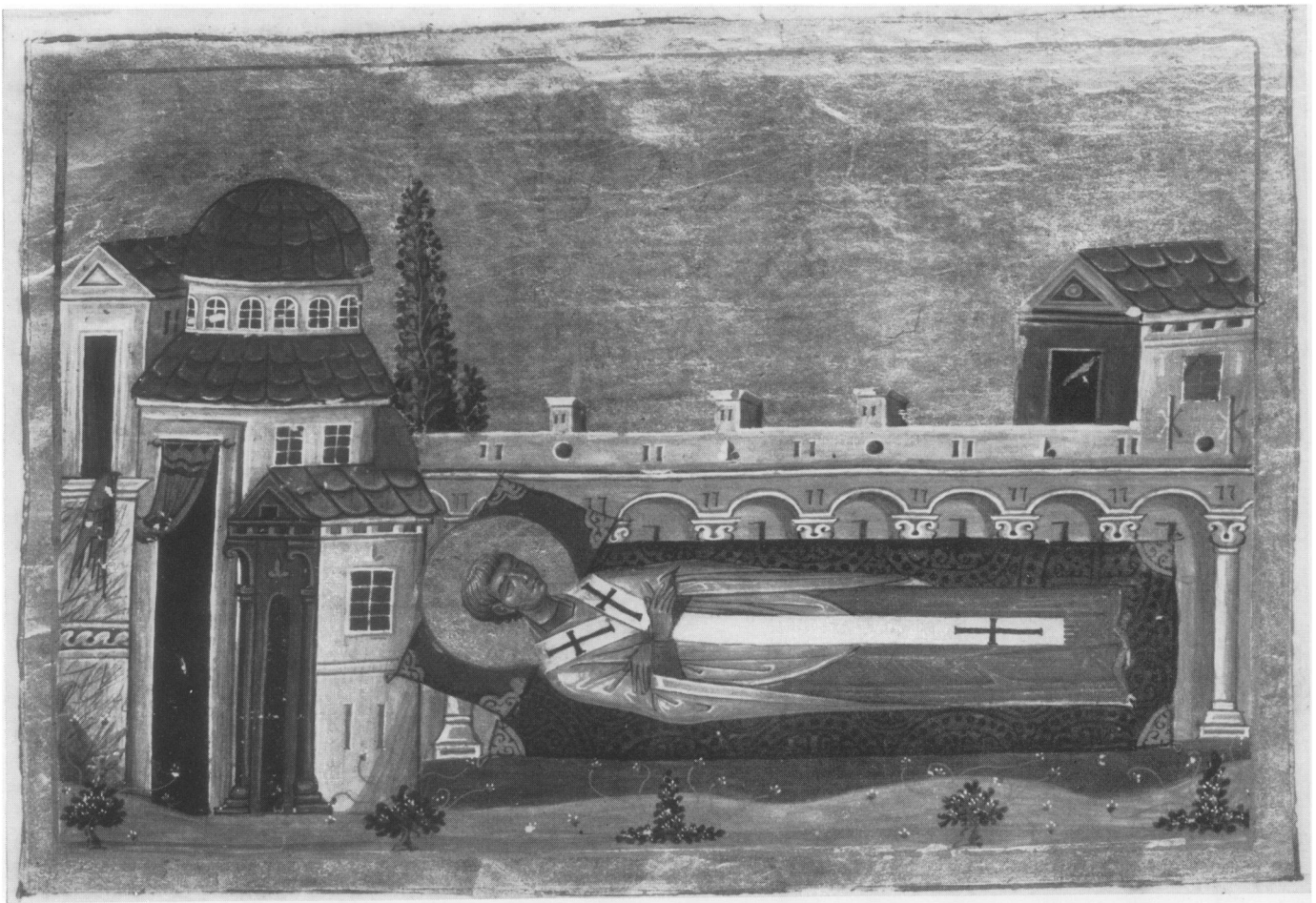
42. North Gallery, Alexander Panel. Monogram



43. North Tympanum. Monogram, detail showing Juncture between Phase I and Phase II Mosaic



44. Room above Southwest Vestibule. St. Nicephorus



45. Cod. Vaticanus gr. 1613, p. 134



46. Cyprus, Kakopetria, St. Nicholas of the Roof.
St. Ignatius the Younger



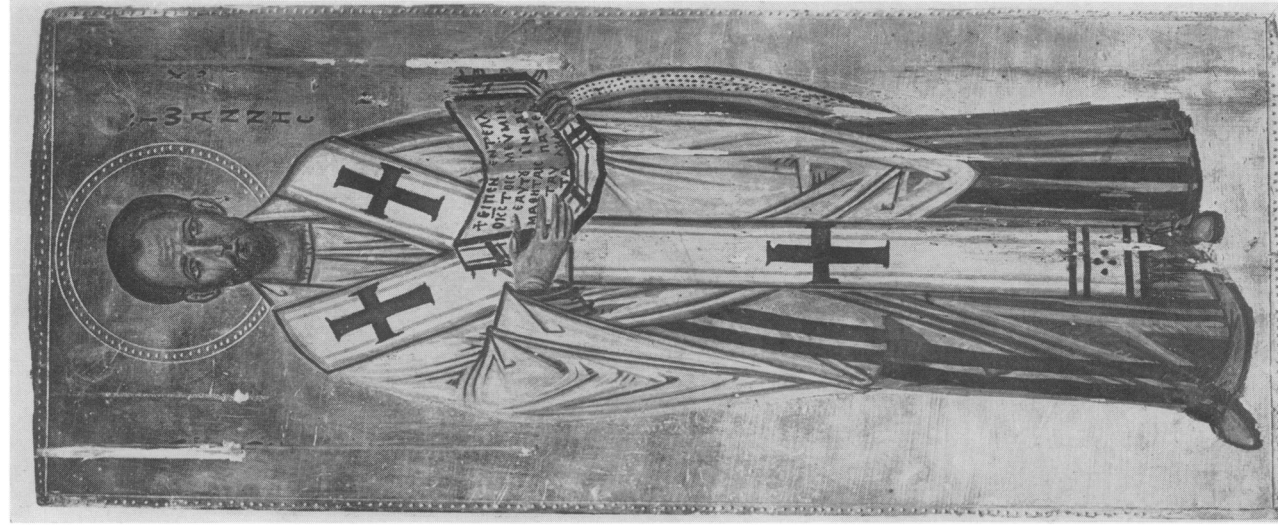
47. Kiev, St. Sophia, South Gallery. St. Ignatius Theophoros



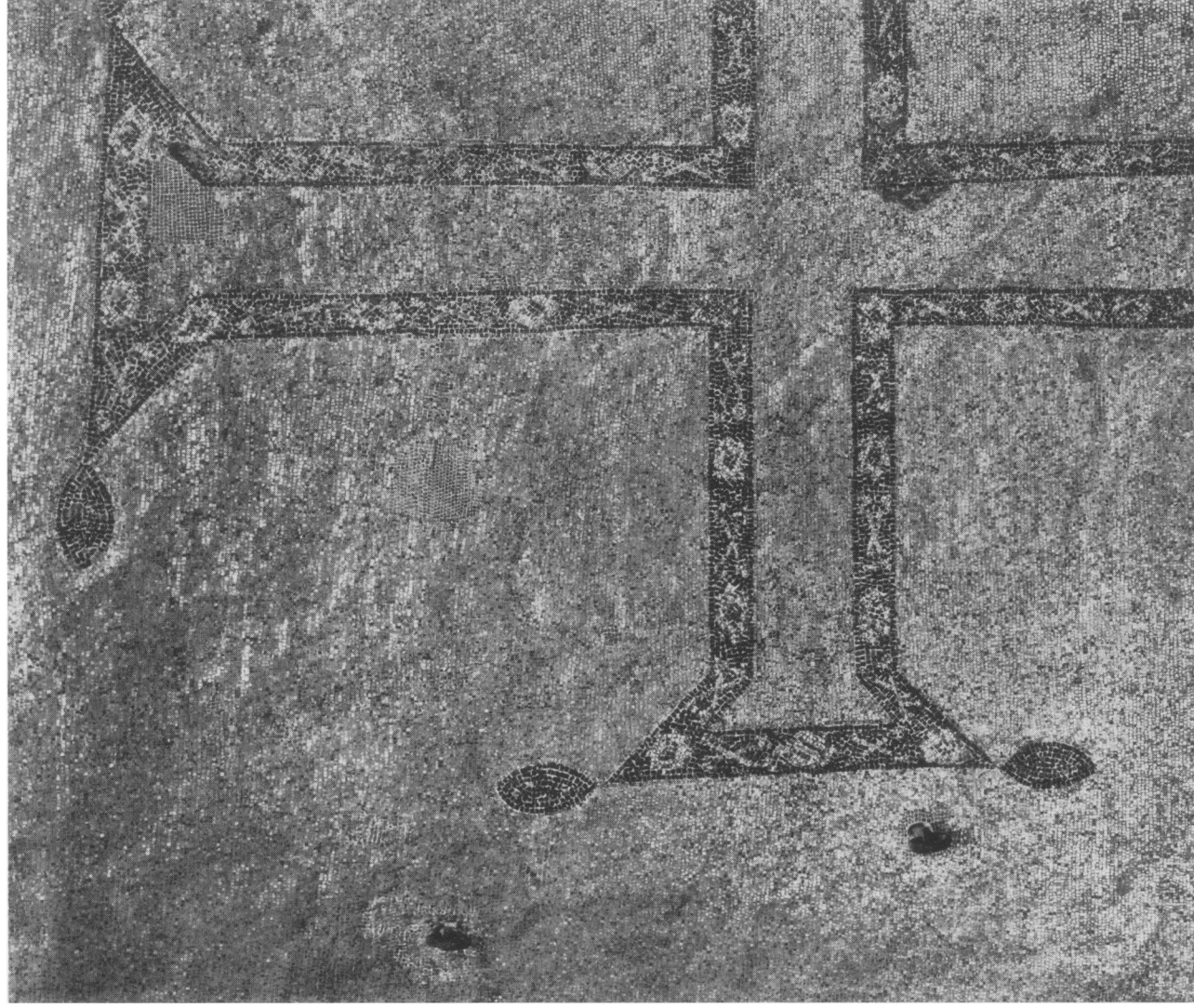
48. Cod. Paris gr. 510, fol. 43v, Upper Register



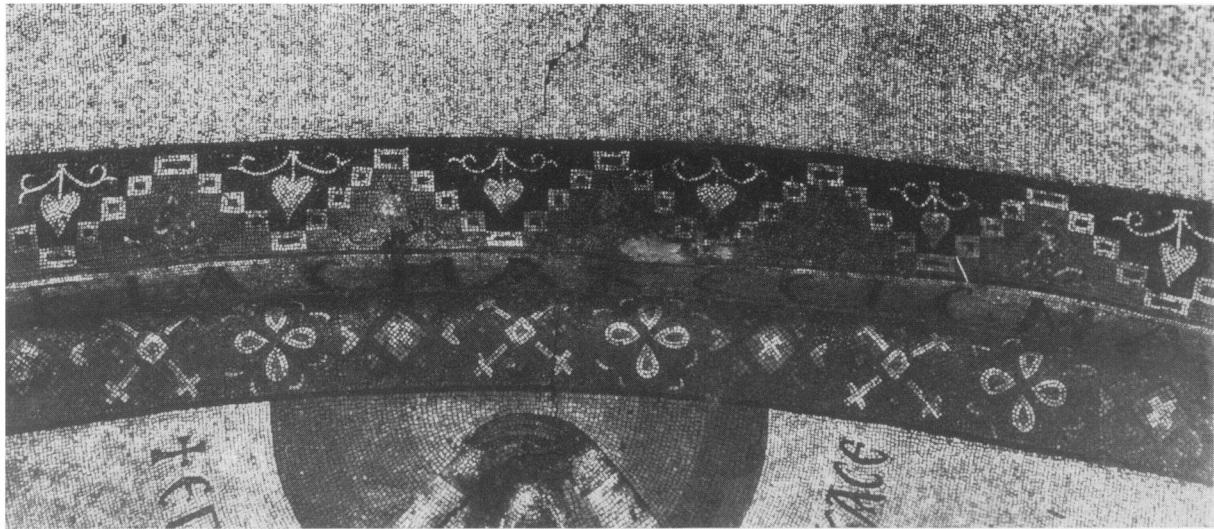
49. Cod. Paris gr. 510, fol. 72, Upper Register



50. Vatican Library, Museo Sacro.
Reliquary from Sancta Sanctorum, Left Panel



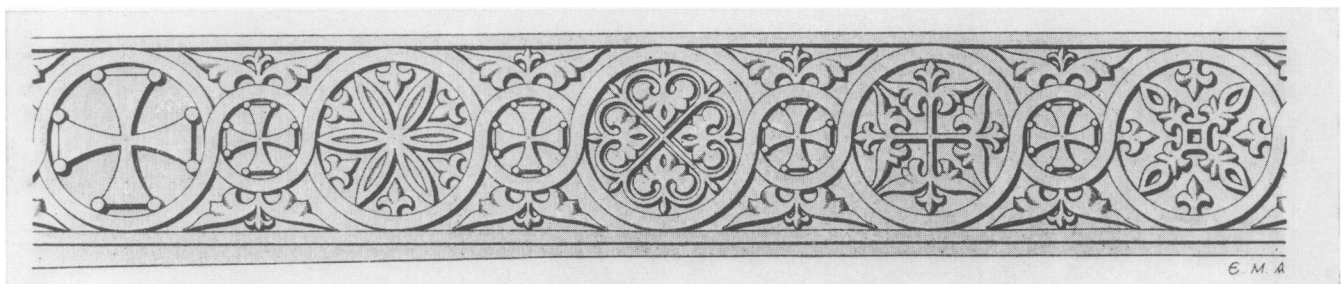
51. St. Sophia, Westernmost Bay of South Aisle. Mosaic Cross, detail



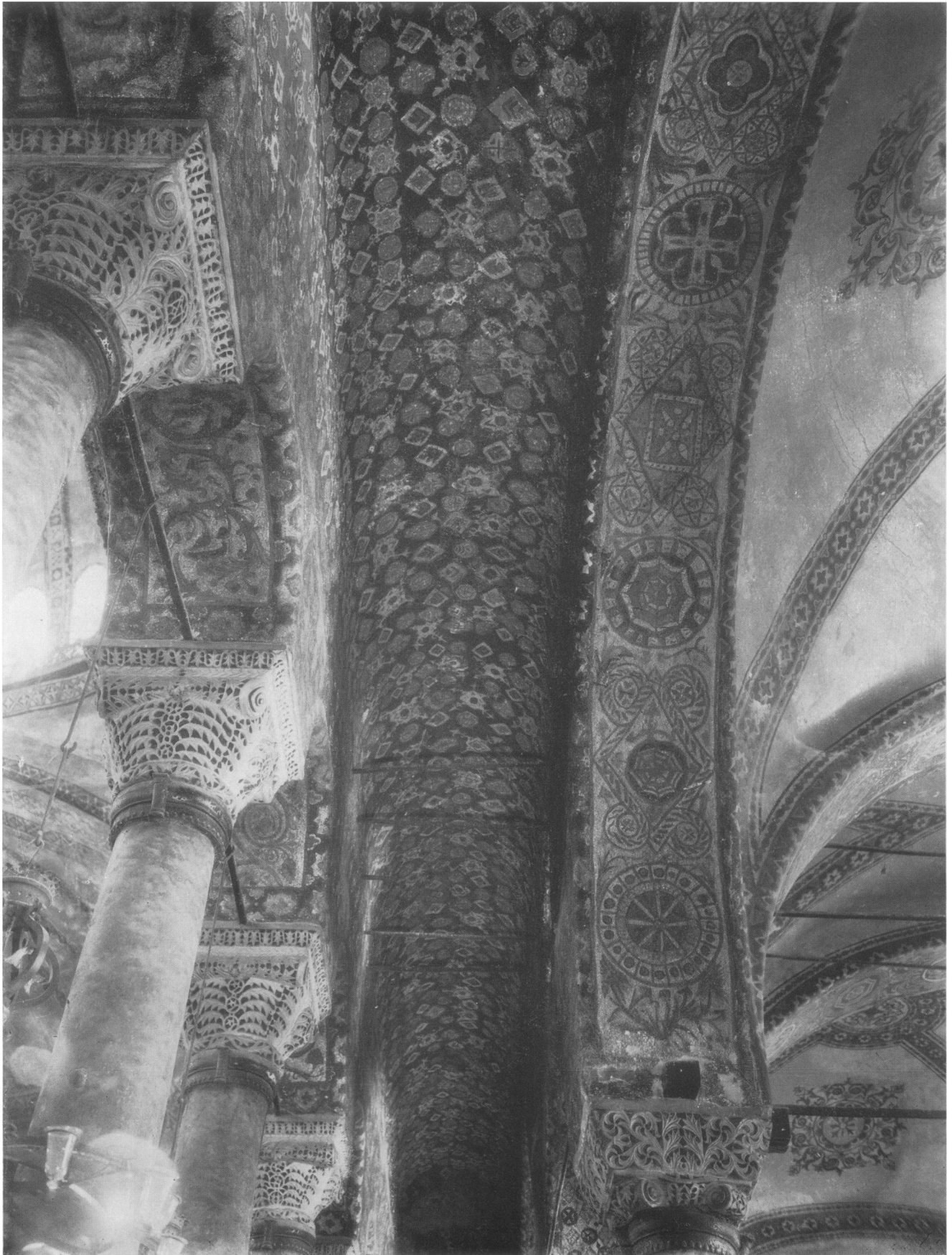
52. Iznik (Nicaea), Dormition Church. Ornamental Surround of Apse



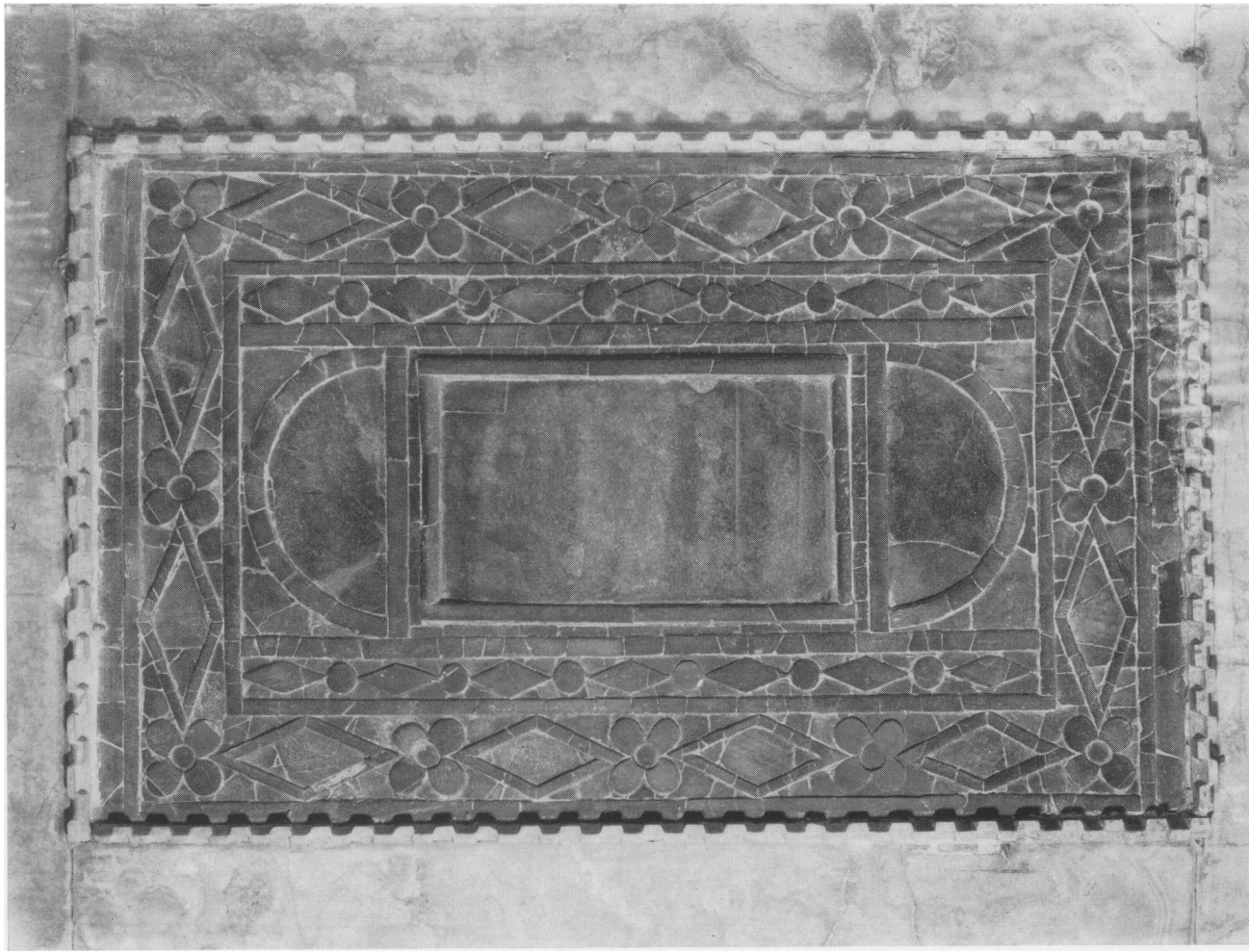
53. St. Sophia, Room above Southwest Ramp. Detail of Rinceau Mosaic



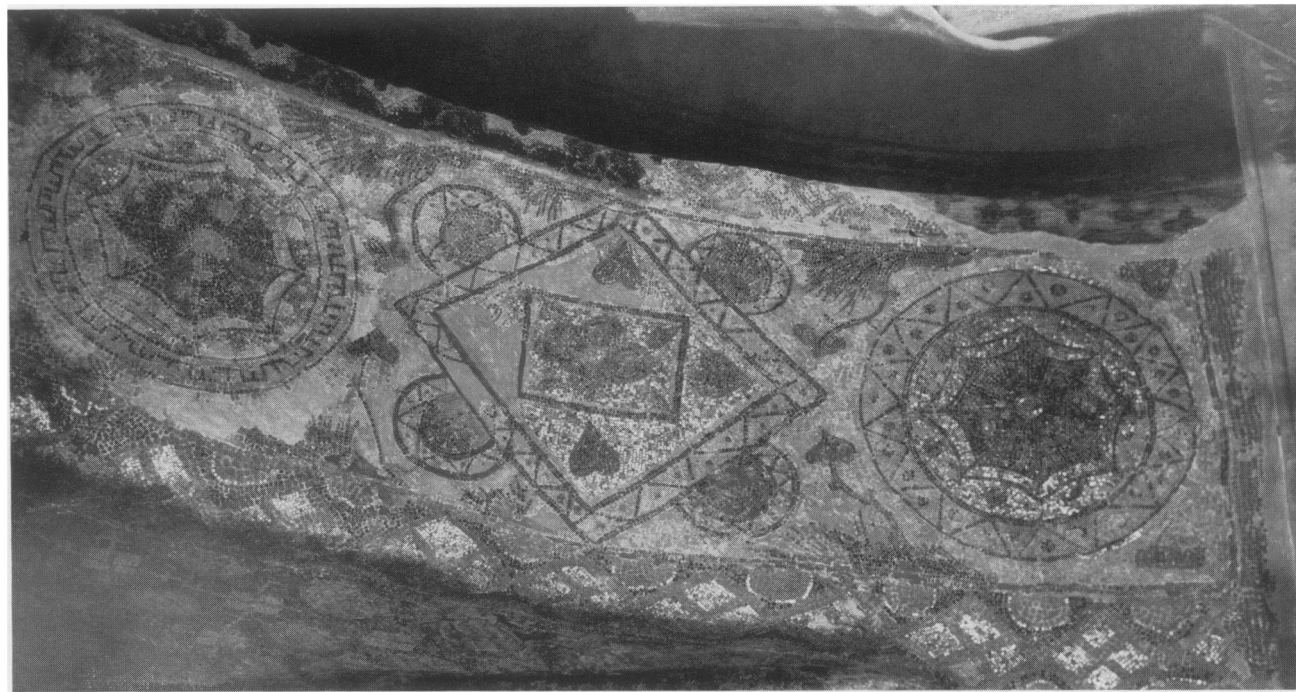
54. St. Sophia, West Gallery. Wooden Beam Casing of Central Arch, *after E. M. Antoniadis*



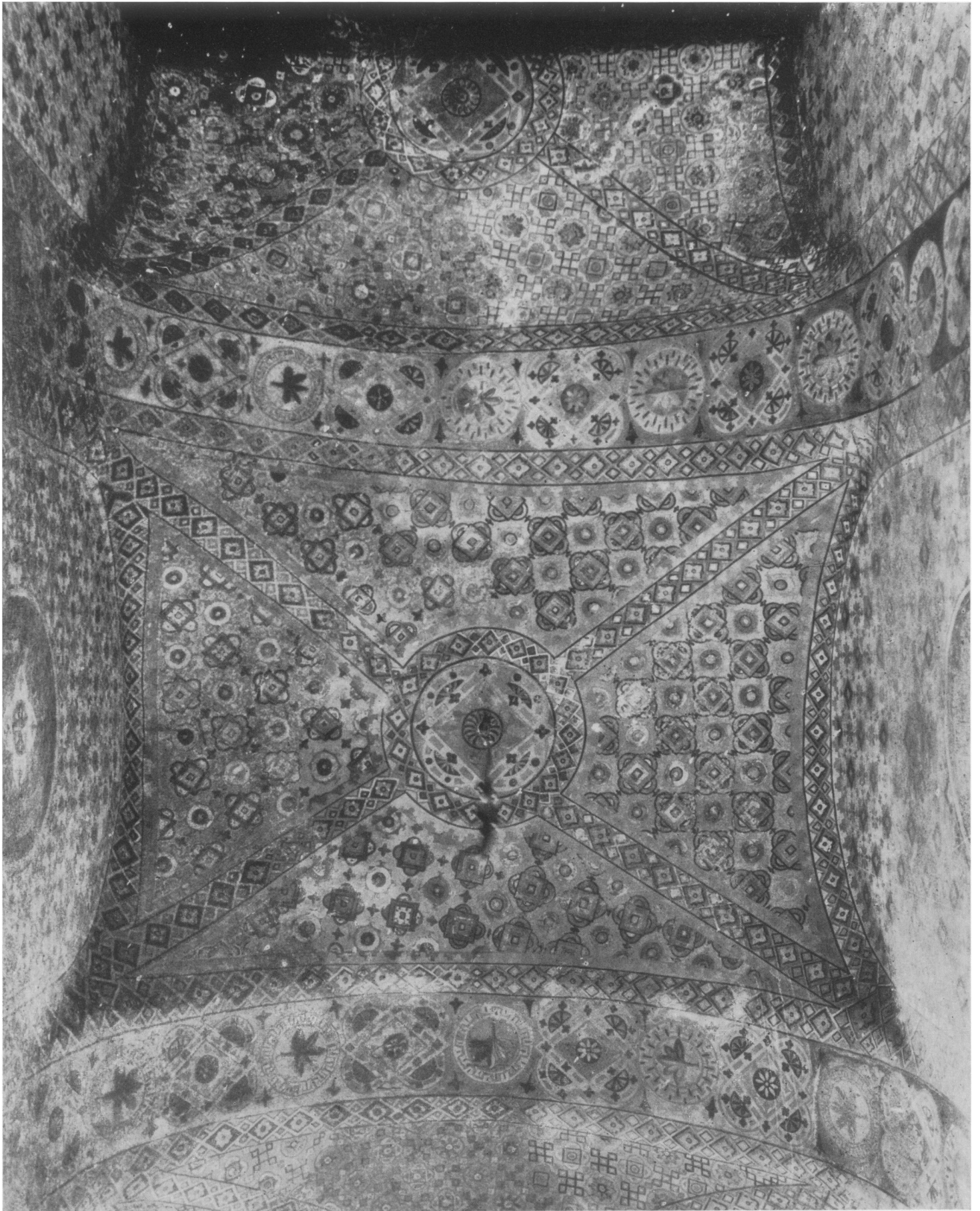
55. South Gallery, Tunnel Vault looking East



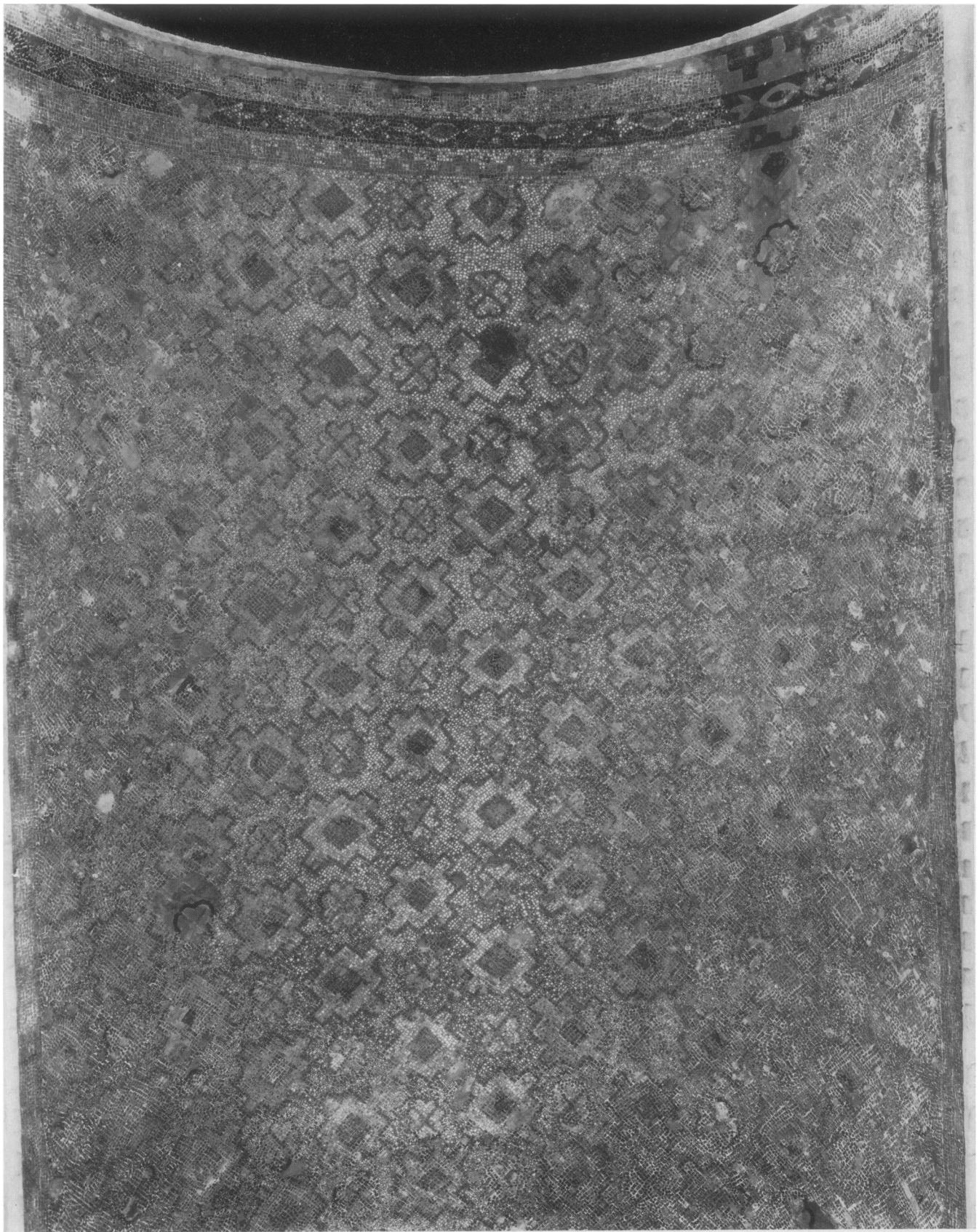
57. Apse, *Opus Sectile* Panel



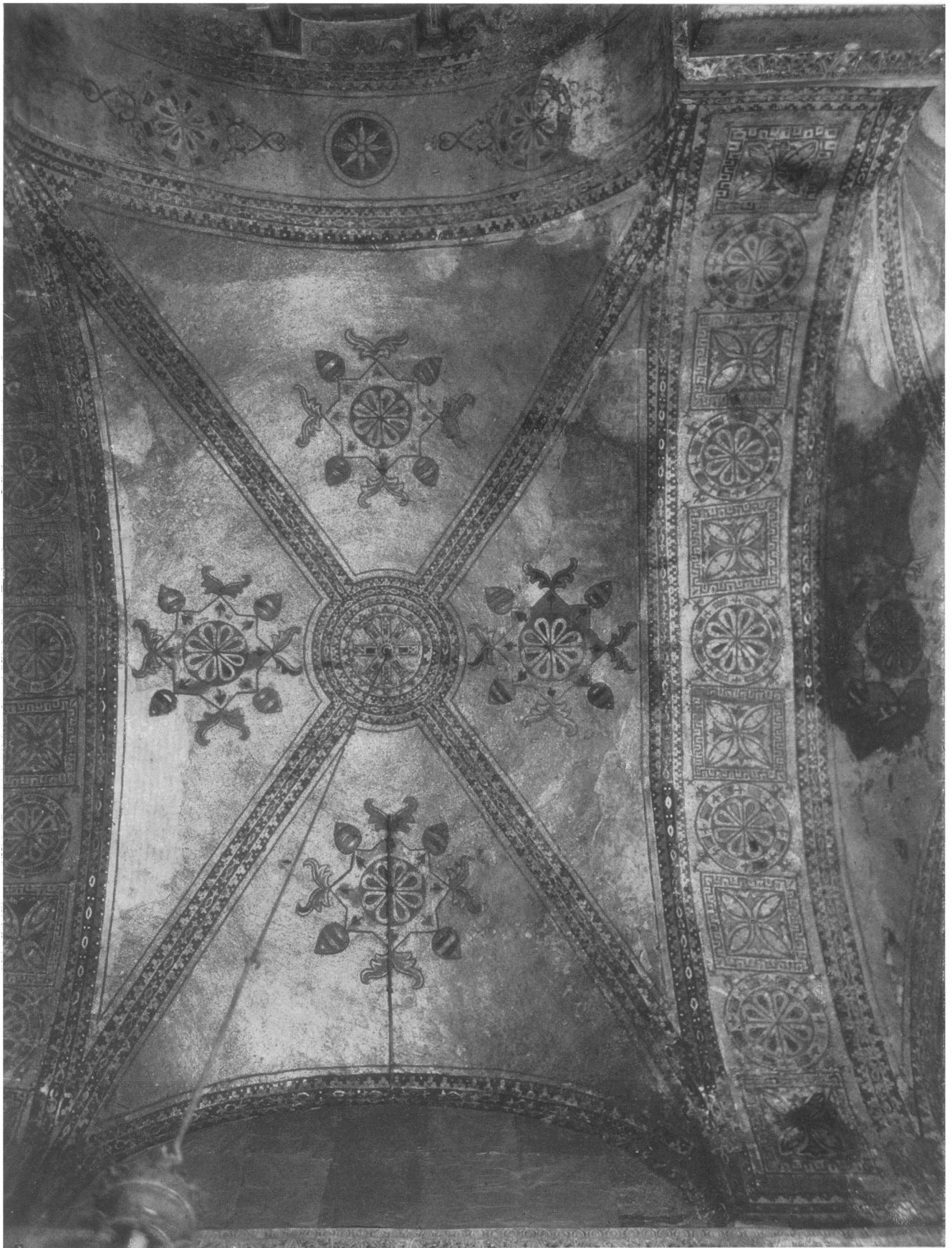
56. North Gallery, Reveal of Arch Next to Alexander Mosaic



58. Southwest Vestibule, Vault, largely restored in Paint



59. Vault between Southwest Secondary Pier and West Wall of Church



60. Narthex, Central Bay, Vault



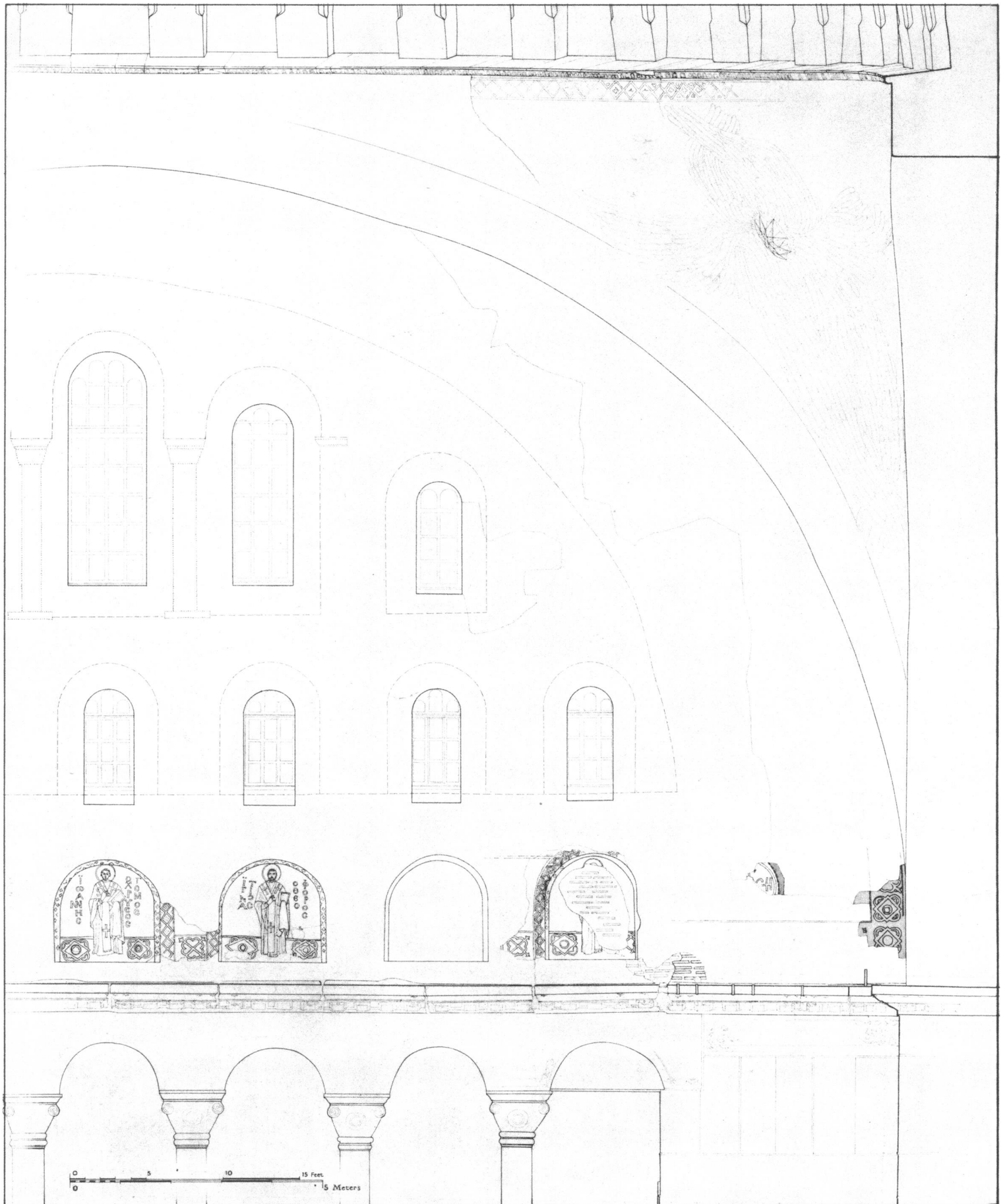
61. Central Door leading from Outer into Inner Narthex, Right Valve, detail of Middle Section



62. Fenari Isa Camii, North Façade. Underside of Corbel

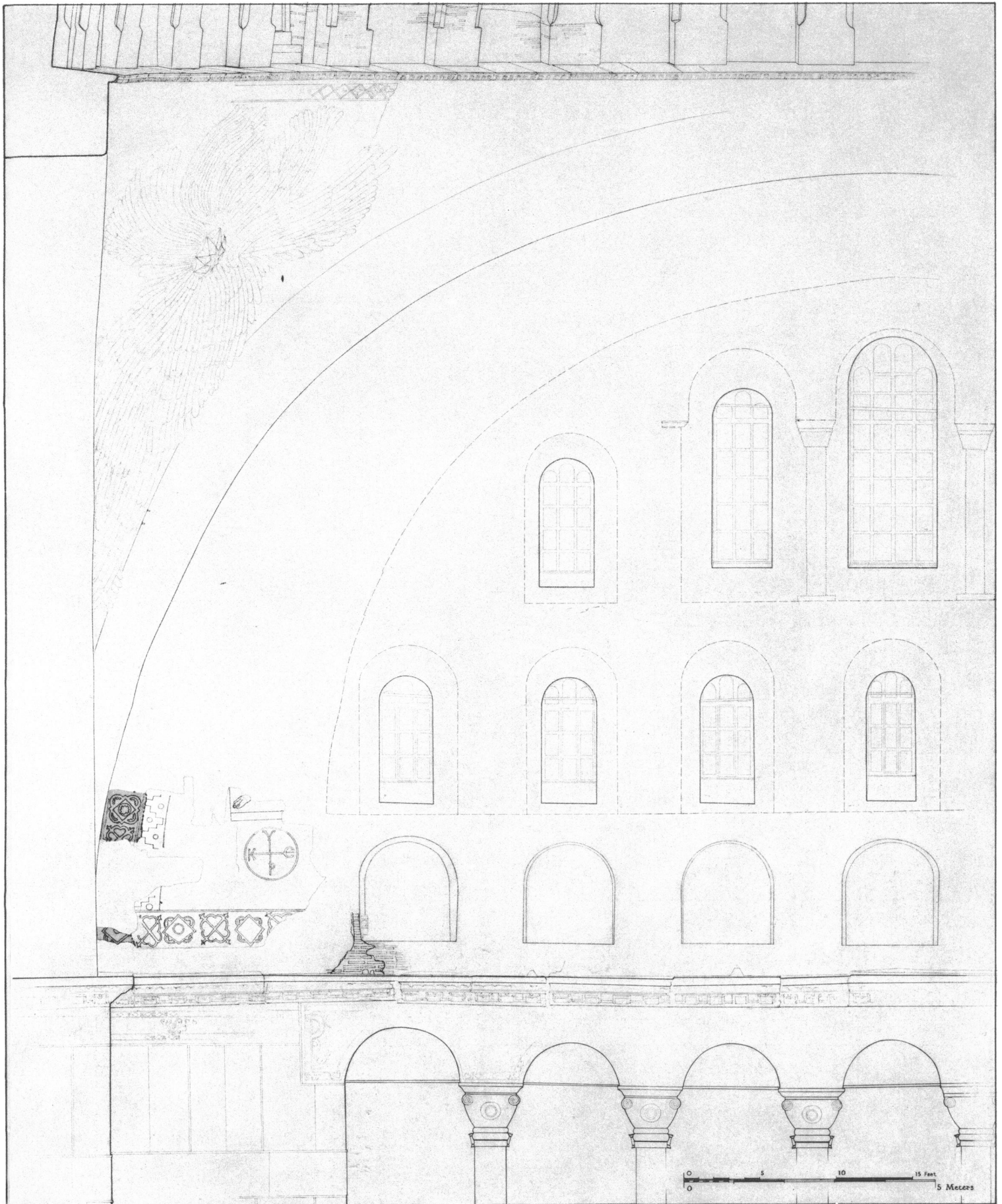


63. 'Anjar, Lebanon. Capital of Main Colonnaded Street



North Tympanum, East Section

St. S
(Shaded Areas depi



South Tympanum, East Section

ophia
ct Phase I Mosaics)